

# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES.

Baltimore, December, 1900.

## THE REFORM OF FRENCH ORTHOGRAPHY.

M. FERDINAND BRUNOT opens the third part of his elaborate study of the French language during the Nineteenth Century in Petit de Julleville's *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française des origines à 1900* with these words:

"La seule chose qui soit restée debout dans ce siècle de tourmente, c'est l'orthographe, universellement reconnue détestable."

The book was hardly out of the printer's hands when the much-talked-of edict of the Minister of Public Instruction in France, M. Georges Leygues, was published in the *Journal officiel* of August 1, 1900. So the century did not die, after all, without having seen this last fortress of traditional prejudice stormed; and everybody who has studied the question, even if he be not a partisan of the reform, must grant that the champions of the cause deserve to attain their goal in the century that witnessed the long contest.

Of course, the battle for reform of orthography has not stirred up public opinion to the same extent, nor in the same manner either, as the discussion of social problems, the solution of which is of more immediate and urgent importance.

As a matter of fact, however, the struggle has been both bitter and long. It was started contemporaneously with the general revolution of social ideas. Between the successive steps of the movement in favor of a reform of orthography and the evolution of political events of the century, there is even a kind of correlation, which is often most remarkable.

Before the Revolution, or more exactly, before Napoleon, no attention was paid to orthography, and consequently there were no mistakes in writing, properly so called. The *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* stood there as a kind of authority in the matter, but it was not expected of anybody to conform to its demands. The liberties the great authors, as well as the second-rank writers, took have been pointed out often enough: Bossuet, who

wrote indifferently *apôtre* and *apostre*, *connaître* and *conêtre*, *prophète* and *profète*; Racine using in the same sense *compter* and *conter*; Voltaire alternatively spelling *philosophie* and *filosofie*, *style* and *stîle*, *jésuite* and *jésuitte*, in the same sentence *je sçay* and *je sçais*; Rousseau using in the space of a single page as many as four different orthographies for a single word; nay even the Academy in the first edition of its dictionary writing both *dictionnaire* and *dictionaire*, *fantosme* and *phantosme*, etc.

The new system of schools which followed upon the Revolution, the system in which Latin and Greek ceased to be the main studies in order to give precedence to more practical subjects, induced a strong need for more harmony in orthography. But nobody dreamed of such an imposing body of rules, bristling with exceptions, as those now in force. Several attempts were first made to solve the problem in a direct way.

The French mind has always been very fond of two qualities which seem to be rather incompatible: freedom on one hand, and rule, method, centralization on the other. As this second quality—so strongly insisted upon by Stuart Mill—has always proved one of the foremost obstacles to the realization of the political ideal of the Revolution (we even to-day, see the Republic in earnest conflict with the powerful foe of bureaucracy), so too, has it brought about the puzzling problem of French orthography, and the struggle we are now witnessing is a period of its evolution which seems to many of momentous importance.

The question as it presented itself at first sight was this: to combine a system of homogeneous orthography with a system that would not impose any restriction on the mind of the writer. The solution obviously was to be found in a system of phonetic orthography; and this, in its turn, was to be realized in the simplest way by inventing an alphabet that would suit the purpose. Domergue offered in his *Manuel des étrangers* an alphabet of twenty-one vowels and nineteen consonants. This was in 1805. In 1808 the "Université" was

organized by Napoleon, but no attention was given to the system of Domergue. On the contrary the Université had to get along with the means at hand, and in imposing all over the country an orthography based on uncertain and complicated principles, became the very instrument of favoring the reign of the narrow and often fanciful orthography which still rules us. Some men of influence, as Volney and Destutt de Tracy, advocated in vain a more reasonable orthography than the one accepted. Other occupations prevented the re-organizers of society from directing their attention to the matter. Then, under the impulsion of the first Romanticists, came the revolution in the language which caused theorists on orthography to be silent for many years. The *Société grammaticale* founded by Domergue had taken sides against the audacities of the newcomers. But once this fight over and the question of orthography taken up again, it became from conservative, progressive. Marle proposed a new system of letters, on the same plan as Domergue, but simpler: one sign for each sound, and addition of only two new letters, ñ for the sound "gn" and j for "ll" between two vowels (file, bataillon). This was in 1827. A propaganda was organized. It was at first a great success. Marle is said to have received thirty-three thousand letters from adherents to the scheme. The King-to-be, Louis Philippe, himself, was very much in favor of it. The whole affair took a political turn. In 1830, while thanks to this latter circumstance, success seemed to be very near, the Revolution suddenly overthrew both the government and the hopes of the reformists.

The claims for simplification continued, but the further away we get from the time of the great Revolution the less decided do we find the demands.

However, a third attempt for a phonetic orthography was still made before they definitely gave up the hope of reaching at once this radical idea. It came from Switzerland where several societies had been formed; at their head was M. Raoux, who proposed a certain program in 1865. In 1866 the book of A. F. Didot, *Observations sur l'orthographe*—which called forth the approbation of such men as

Littre and Sainte-Beuve—aroused again the attention of the general public of France to the subject.<sup>1</sup> After preliminary debates which ended in an agreement between the scholars of France and Switzerland, the *Echo des réformes*, 1870, was just going to print (using the new orthography) when the war broke out. In 1871 the question of *Néographie* was taken up again. New discussions arose, which could not be settled for a long time. In 1876 Didot died. This marked the end of the effort.

But in the meantime the problem had been considered by another group of men. Giving up at once the revolutionary idea of substitution of a phonetic orthography for that in existence, they decided to accomplish their end by the way of gradual improvements. Of course the final purpose was the same as before.

From a strictly logical point of view each reform of orthography—in the other languages, as well as in French—tends towards the application of phonetic principles. It would probably not be difficult to reduce most differences existing among the improvements proposed to those of *plus* and *moins*. In any case the new advocates of the reform, those who adopted the method of evolution instead of revolution, have finally carried off the honors of the victory in the contest before us.

There exist to-day two societies in France for the advancement of the cause. The first was founded by MM. Bescherelle and Malvezin in 1872 and is the most conservative of the two. The other with more distinctive phonetic tendencies was started by M. Passy,

<sup>1</sup> So much was it aroused that in 1867 it was discussed at the "International Congress of Labor" at Lausanne. One sees at once that there is a great sociological question connected with the reform of orthography. At all events, in case of a sudden and thorough change, as was then thought of, momentous consequences might be expected. If all our books were to be published over again in a new form, it would mean a tremendous pressure in all lines of business connected in any way with book-making. As M. Renard very well says: "Il y a des millions et des millions qui dorment sous cette question de la réforme orthographique." Later on as new orthography means suppression of useless letters, books would be shorter, smaller and cheaper. What to do with poetry, which of course, would not allow the application of the new orthography, is a difficulty which will not be easily solved. Are French children—to speak only of those—in order to enjoy literature, to learn the old orthography? Then the reform would hardly pay for them, since they would have two grammars to be acquainted with instead of one, as now.

and existed some time before being officially organized in 1888. The adhesion of M. Havet in 1888 was an event of great importance, and so was that of M. Clédat in 1889. It is often called the Havet-Passy-Clédat Society, these three being the names of the men who have contributed most towards its development.

The principal act of the Association was the report known as the *Pétition Havet* sent to the French Academy in 1890 and signed by over eight thousand (some allow only seven thousand) people. The Academy took no action; but in 1891 the Minister of Public Instruction, M. Léon Bourgeois, sent his famous *Circulaire*, requesting those in charge of the examination for the "Certificat d'Études" to be lenient with the candidates who permitted themselves to be guided by reasonable principles at the expense of fanciful grammar rules (for example, write *genous*, instead of *genoux*, *étaus* like *landaus*, *paysane* like *courtisane*, etc.). Then the Academy thought it best to do something also, and requested M. Gréard to prepare a report on the subject, the report to be presented to the Commission du dictionnaire; which was another important event in the campaign, since the author of the report was distinctly not on the conservative side. However, nothing more was done by the Academy.

So the reformers tried to influence the political powers. In 1896 a petition, written by M. G. Renard, in the name of various societies for the reform of Orthography [such societies had been founded in the meanwhile in Belgium in 1892, in Algeria in 1894, and in Switzerland in 1896] was presented to the Minister of Public Instruction, M. Combes. The latter chose a permanent commission, at the head of which was placed M. Gréard; with him were men like MM. Gaston Paris, Liard, Brisson, Hémon, etc. Once more politics interfered with the success of the scheme, as the ministry was overthrown shortly after this. The successor of M. Combes never called the Commission together.

Since that time the societies have been very active indeed, but no event of importance transpired until July, 1899, when after a vote of the Union des Instituteurs et Institutrices de la Seine it was decided that an orthography

different from the one of the Academy would be considered valid for the bestowal of the *brevet* and *certificat d'études*. It was nothing else but the acceptance of the *Circulaire Bourgeois* of 1891, but a great victory nevertheless, since by this step the reform had finally passed the threshold of the University of France. Finally came the Arrêté ministériel of July last.

Before speaking of it at length, if we wish to do justice to everybody, we ought at least to mention the names of some men who have contributed towards bringing about the new orthography. Outside of the members of committees or associations—Havet, Gréard G. Paris, Clédat—two or three have distinguished themselves in the campaign. Francisque Sarcey, who tried to influence daily papers to use a simplified orthography; Anatole France, in two memorable articles in 1898, when he goes so far as to call Noël and Chap-sal, the late representatives of the orthodox grammar of so many years *malfaiteurs publics*; and we may add the name of Émile Faguet, who more than once advocated, in strong terms, the reform.

Two more people deserve to be quoted here, who have devoted their lives to the success of the cause, M. Auguste Renard, who fights especially with his pen—he is the "Secrétaire général de l'Association pour la Simplification de l'Orthographe"—and M. Jean Barès, the director of the *Réformiste*, who has contributed large sums of money. After having realized an immense fortune during his thirty years in South America, he came back to France in 1896, and decided to devote a part of his wealth towards rendering the French orthography as simple as, for instance, the Spanish. He edits his magazine—first, monthly, then bimensual, soon to be weekly—entirely according to the new system of spelling.

But in spite of all the efforts of skilful and devoted men, the success of the reform might have been retarded for a long time, had it not been for the schools themselves.

This action, however, did not exert itself as would at first be thought. It has not been in advocating simplification that its power was felt; on the contrary, by exaggerating the importance and insisting upon the minute and

odd rules of orthography, the schools suggested the reaction, and strengthened it as years passed by, because of their devoting considerable time to teaching the non-essentials of French grammar.

In fact, one of the foremost claims of the reformists, from Volney and Destutt de Tracy down to M. Renard, and through Didot, has been that the longest and dreariest study of childhood did not afford any opportunity to exert the reasoning faculties. Far from listening to these claims, the schools—or the “Université” followed opposite principles. On the other hand, it must be admitted, if they developed as they actually did, it was not altogether unnatural. France, like all other nations during this century, has done much towards improving her schools. Now as one of the most important subjects taught in France has always been a good knowledge of the mother tongue, so one of the means of showing improvement was a constantly more correct and minute knowledge of the requirements of orthography. In the first part of the century, even a man like Vigny did not care much about grammar; his making *ange* and *archange* feminine is well known. Lamartine also committed sins of this kind, failing to apply the rules of the past participle, and sometimes applying the wrong one; he went so far as to confuse *prêt à* and *près de*. Such mistakes nowadays would not happen with even small school-boys. Besides, sociological causes contributed not a little towards the same result. For years the teaching profession has been overcrowded in the most exasperating way. Statistics have been published often enough to illustrate this difficult problem of overproduction of school-masters. The school authorities took advantage of these conditions in order to select the most able among the crowd of candidates; and those determining the selection steadily became more exacting in the preparation required. As the “aspirants au brevet” showed themselves equally well prepared on the fundamental questions, the choice had to take into account the preparation in the details of the program. For this purpose the subtleties of grammar served admirably, and so by and by, the exceptions to rules happened to form the most important part of the preparation. The result was that

those best acquainted with the irrationalities of French grammar were those designated to be the teachers of French youth. And as a matter of course, the more they themselves had become accustomed to look at those subtleties as the main part of the study of orthography, the more they would, in their turn, insist upon them with their own pupils. This exaggerated attention paid to these trifles has been general for quite a while now. In the military school of St. Cyr, for instance, while in all other branches no mark would cause the candidate to fail definitely except *o*, for orthography 10 (out of 20) is required for entrance examination. Napoleon I, whose orthography was very fanciful, would have most certainly been refused admission to St. Cyr, had he presented himself in our days.

The armies of candidates for the *brevet*, and for entrance into higher institutions of learning has not ceased growing in later years; the progress in the exacting spirit of examiners had to keep pace with this fact. So the true condition of things became widely known and appreciated; the ridiculous side of it appeared more and more obvious; and the necessity of a reform imposed itself upon the public mind with increasing and, at last, irresistible force.

The edict itself is now known to everybody. I will only sum up the main points in it.

*Article:* More liberty in the use or suppression of the article; rule of the partitive article done away with (*du bon pain* or *de bon pain*); liberty as to the agreement of the article with the superlative (on a abattu les arbres *les plus exposés* or *le plus exposés à la tempête*); liberty of using or not the article before certain proper names (aller *en* Portugal or aller *au* Portugal).

*Substantive:* suppression of change of gender from the singular to the plural (*amour*, *orgue*); suppression of the change of gender according to the proper and figurative sense of certain words (*œuvre*); suppression of rule of gender for “paque.”

*Proper nouns:* The plural allowed for all senses of the words (les *Virgiles*, editions, and les *Virgiles*, copies).

*Nouns of foreign origin:* Uniformity of rule in the same sense (*excats* in the plural as well as *déficits*).

**Compound nouns:** Suppression of the hyphen allowed, and fusion of both words into one (*choufleur*, *essuimain*, *blancseing*, or *choufleur*, *essuie-main*, *blanc-seing*), and plural formed accordingly (*choufleurs*, *essuimains*, *blancseings*).<sup>2</sup> Suppression of the apostrophe in words like *grandmère*, *grandroute*.

**Adjective:** Suppression of the hyphen in compound adjectives (*nouveauné*, *courtvetu*), and plural accordingly. *Nu*, *demi*, *feu*, allowed to agree whether before or after the modified noun. *Vingt* and *cent*: use of plural form in any case of multiplication by a preceding number. *Mille* may remain with this orthography when used for dates.

**Preposition:** Very little attention paid to the use of the preposition before names of countries (*aller en* Portugal and *au* Portugal) (see "article" above).

**Adverb and Conjunction:** After verbs like "craindre," "empêcher," suppression of the *ne* allowed. After conjunctions "de peur que," "à moins que," "avant que," same suppression of *ne*.

**Verb:** Before a plural, permission in any case to use *c'est* or *ce sont*. Verbs requiring the adverb *ne*, see above. Rule of *Past participle* with "avoir" suppressed.

An acceptance of these reforms is not to be imposed. They may be applied or not, at everybody's own choice; it is a pure matter of toleration. However, the "Article 2" of the *arrêté*, practically secures the actual application by all, if not in our generation, surely in the next one, provided the text be carried through. This is the text of the said article:

"Dans les établissements d'enseignement public de tout ordre, les usages et prescriptions contraires aux indications énoncées dans

<sup>2</sup> The chapter in the edict on compound nouns seems to have undergone changes. The first report from France as to the reform, threatened much more radical modifications. For example, there were to be many fanciful looking words such as *t.t.it.te*, *essuimain*, *chidéuvre*. When, however, the little pamphlet "Simplification de l'enseignement de la syntaxe française" was issued and sold to the public, these words had disappeared. One, however, was left: *cheflieu* (*chef-lieu*), and plural *cheffieux*. According to present rules of French pronunciation, this new word is altogether irrational; in its new form, it would have to be pronounced *che-flieu* (*che* with the mute *e* sound). In order to indicate the pronunciation by the orthography it would be necessary either to write *chefflieu*, or *cheffieu*,—or perhaps still better keep the old form of *chef-lieu*.

la liste annexée au présent arrêté ne seront pas enseignés comme règles."

Thus, if not taught as rules, they will not be applied by the next generation of school children, and so be out of use before long.

It is not necessary to say that the reform has been discussed a good deal. If there was practically not a single voice that would condemn the decision altogether, that is, that would attack the principle of reform, on the other hand we do not know of any that would have approved it all. This shows as well as any direct demonstration that the authorities have not taken altogether the right ground.

In fact, if one carefully examines the text before us, and the circumstances under which the reform was decided, it is impossible not to be struck by a certain awkwardness in the way of proceeding. And if you think of the men who worked out the points of the "arrêté"—MM. Gaston Paris, Gréard, Croiset, Paul Meyer, etc.—you are still more surprised. I ask to be permitted to give a few examples in order to justify this accusation of lack of consistency in the work of the commission.

In the chapter of the substantive, they have done away with some exceptions concerning proper names, foreign words and compound nouns, while they did not touch the much larger class of common nouns. With a single pen stroke they could have simplified a number of times more than they actually did in taking up a number of secondary cases.

They were very eager to suppress the exception of *mil*, instead of *mille* in dates. But they did not think that similar cases of exceptional double letters come up over and over again in other classes of adjectives. Instead of reaching simplification in one word, they might with exactly the same trouble have reached hundreds of words in suppressing the doubling of the consonant in some words for the formation of the feminine by writing, for instance, *sole* like *devote*.

They also have done away with the exception of *vingt* and *cent*, not being allowed the mark of the plural if followed by another number. It seems that it would have been much simpler to unify the whole rule of adjectives of numbers, in other words to drop the exception of

*cent* and *vingt* alone taking the sign of the plural.

It would be easy to multiply examples. How, for instance, could they allow the plural for *aucun*, with the negative *ne*, which obviously means "not a single one," etc.?

Now where does this tendency come from? It is difficult to say. Either the members of the commission did not take time for a careful solution of the points to be first reformed according to a sensible way of going to work, or they may have tried to make concessions, but in such a fashion that although it looked like a reform, in fact only some few minor points were granted to calm the passion of the true reformists.

In both cases it is bad for the principle of the reform. The work being open to such wide criticism, will not gain many adherents among thinking people. It is at all events striking to see how little they took into consideration the preparatory work done by the reformists. The points that have been attacked in the most fierce manner and for the longest time (for instance in the *Journal des Instituteurs*) have been, you may almost say, systematically ignored.

If we come to the most sensational feature of the commission, the suppression of the rules of the past participle with "avoir," we feel still more embarrassed. I cannot help confessing that, for a moment, the idea took hold of me that we might perhaps have before us simply an attempt to compromise, once for all, the cause of reform. It has always been obvious to everybody that, even if not very simple, the rules of the participle are reasonable.

The reformists themselves did not dream of touching them, except by always suppressing the agreement when the participle with "avoir" is accompanied by *en*. As the commission now puts it, that the past participle with "avoir" is always allowed to remain invariable, does it not look decidedly too much as if the reform had been made just to please a crowd of ignorant or unintelligent people, without any consideration whatever as to the justification of the action? The members of the commission ought not to have permitted themselves to be guided by the misleading and prevailing superficial democratic creeds of the

day, that whatever is simple is good. To reduce everything to the level of the lower classes may be—perhaps (?)—justified in other domains; certainly it will never be in the domain of science. "Easy" is not synonymous with "good;" far from it. M. Brunetière certainly struck the right note when he wrote: "S'il y a lieu de simplifier la syntaxe ou de réformer l'orthographe, il est inadmissible que la simplification ou cette réforme soient réglées par les exigences de l'école primaire; . . . il y a quelque chose de barbare à défigurer ainsi la physionomie de nos textes classiques, pour complaire aux familles de quelques candidats fonctionnaires et . . . enfin l'idée seule de prétendre simplifier systématiquement la syntaxe est le contraire d'une idée libérale, d'une idée scientifique et d'une idée de progrès."

But there is something else of still more gravity. The members of the commission seem to have forgotten that doing away with the rules of the past participle with *avoir* implies the ignorance of one of the characteristic features of the French language, the flexion of all determinative words. Some have tried to invoke the example of other languages like English where the past participle remains invariable, and where nobody is shocked by the lack of agreement in any case. This is perfectly true, but we cannot always compare two languages. For instance, we cannot compare the construction of the sentences in a language with flexion of words, Latin or German, with that in languages without flexion of the nouns, English or French. While in Latin we can say indifferently *Pater castigat puerum* and *Puerum castigat pater*, we cannot do the same in English and say indifferently *the father punishes the child*, or *the child punishes the father*. So, also, you cannot compare English and French in the question of agreement of the past participle.

In both languages the past participle is considered to be an adjective, and placed under the same rule with it, which is all perfectly logical. Now, while the English language, with the exception of a few determinative words, has no flexive adjectives, the French language, on the contrary, is based on the principle of agreement of all its adjectives—which carries with it the agreement of the past participle also.

Consequently in suppressing in some cases

this agreement of the past participle, the reformers have created a new exception in French grammar in favor of the past participle—and truly we had a plenty. It was even the opinion of many that the task of the commission was to suppress exceptions and not to invent new ones. The action of the commission is all the more astonishing in this instance, since the principle of agreement is explicitly retained for the present participle (distinction between the "adjective verbal," and the participle as simple adjective).

This abolition of the rule of the past participle with *avoir* is so little justified, that even M. Auguste Renard cannot approve of it entirely, and proposes—an exception (!)

"Qu'il soit permis," he says, "à un réformateur peu suspect d'un excès de timidité, de hasarder une restriction: cette simplification, légitime partout ailleurs, n'est-elle pas, en un point-lorsque le complément du participe est le pronom *le, la, les*—contraire au génie de la langue et de l'usage? Prenons un exemple où la prononciation du participe n'étant pas la même au féminin qu'au masculin, l'oreille, le vrai juge de la langue, exige le féminin: *Ma maison n'existe plus, on l'a détruite* (et non *détruit*); *cette lettre, qui l'a écrite?* (et non *écrit*); avez vous fait votre malle? *je l'ai faite* (et non *fait*). Il y a là un accord imposé, non par le caprice des grammairiens, mais par le génie même de la langue. Les illettrés, les paysans même, ignorants de la grammaire, observent cette règle instinctivement. Je doute que, pour l'abolir, on puisse invoquer l'exemple des bons auteurs."<sup>3</sup>

Let me say here in parenthesis that as a matter of fact, unless you apply in the strictest sense the phonetic orthography—which the

<sup>3</sup> One may ask why, then, the past participle with *avoir* agrees with the object when this object precedes, and not when it follows? Because there is a different meaning in these two cases. Although not realized by everybody, although rather delicate, it appears, nevertheless, very positive as soon as you analyze the sentences before you. If the participle with *avoir* precedes the object the verb has more of an active sense in it, the past participle is a part of the active verb. If the past participle follows its object, the passive sense is emphasized, the past participle becomes a true determinative of the object. An example with adequate translation will clearly illustrate the distinction:

*J'ai vu les hommes* = I have been seeing the men (*I have been seeing action*).

*Je les ai vus* = I had them seen (*they were seen* = passive and plural).

Remember that you never have the past participle agreeing except when the object or person you are mentioning has been spoken of before. So the sentence may easily become passive: the object is the essential thing and the speaker lays stress on it naturally. Suppose I tell a story, the important thing is not that "*I have seen them*," but that "*they were seen*." If you wish to emphasize the other side, you either replace the pronouns by the nouns, and thus bring back the active verb, or else you may express it by the tone of your voice.

reformists have given up, not without reason—you will never be able to do away with exceptions. See the fifth part of Renard's *La nouvelle orthographe*, page 81 et seq., where you see the apparently simplest rules requiring a restriction of some sort; and see also the edict of July, chapter on Compound Nouns. Nay, even with the phonetic orthography you would not reach your end, since as we just saw in M. Renard's remark, sometimes the flexion of a word has a result in the pronunciation, sometimes not: *la page que j'ai écrite, les livres que j'ai écrits*. More than that, the pronunciation depends, as we know, frequently upon the next word: *les livres que j'ai écrits seront publiés, les livres que j'ai écrits à Paris*. Even if you were to use the phonetic orthography, you ought to know the rules of the past participle. Nor is it necessary to take an example like that of M. Renard, where a new consonant is heard in the case of the feminine. There is a distinct difference in pronunciation, between *je l'ai vu* and *je l'ai vue*, the first is short, the second is long. We thus confront the startling dilemma if we agree to carry through the reform: either we reform pronunciation at the same time with orthography, or we simply violate the rules of phonetics. Is it possible that the commission did not think of this?<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Similarly in many cases of double consonants in nouns and adjectives: There is a very positive difference between *paysanne* and *courtisane* (the first short, the second long), there would be one between *bonne* and *bone*, the simplification proposed by the reformists, the first short, the second long (not change of sound from Greek *o* into *ω*, however). Thus the word *irrationality*, so profusely used by the reformists, is still here entirely out of place. It may be that the difference of pronunciation will, by and by, vanish; then it will be reasonable to suppress the superfluous letter, but if it is a bad thing to be behind one's times, it is not much better to be ahead of them, at least in such a matter as this. In very many cases the double consonant is still perfectly justified.

It may not be superfluous to point out that this is not in the least in contradiction with another passage in the first part of this article. When we criticized the way the reform had been taken up by the commission, we did not pretend to express our own opinion as to the suppression of double letters. We judged entirely from the standpoint of the reformists. As far as we are personally concerned, we do not feel positive at all that the pronunciation of *mille*, for instance, is not slightly different in *mil huit cent douze*, and in *mille deurs*. We should go so far as to admit a possible justification of a rule which demands *mil* in dates after Christ, and *mille* in dates before Christ. When we speak of our times, the word *mille* is after all secondary, the last part of the figure is important. On the contrary, if we speak of ancient times we take a broader view of the whole subject, and the big part of the figure will rather be insisted upon. This would betray itself in pronunciation by accentuation, accentuation brought about by unconsciously lengthening the word *mille*. This may seem very subtle; but who has ever seen any thorough treatment of a subject in the field of philology, which did not require a great delicacy of touch, and subtlety of reasoning?

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Now where does this tendency come from? It is difficult to say. Either the members of the commission did not take time for a careful solution of the point, to be first reformed according to a sensible way of going to work, or they may have tried to make concessions, but in such a fashion that although it looked like a reform, in fact only some few minor points were granted to calm the passion of the true reformists.

In both cases it is bad for the principle of the reform. The work being open to such wide criticism, will not gain many adherents among thinking people. It is at all events striking to see how little they took into consideration the preparatory work done by the reformists. The points that have been attacked in the most fierce manner and for the longest time (for instance in the *Journal des Instituteurs*) have been, you may almost say, systematically ignored.

If we come to the most sensational feature of the commission, the suppression of the rules of the past participle with "avoir," we feel still more embarrassed. I cannot help confessing that, for a moment, the idea took hold of me that we might perhaps have before us simply an attempt to compromise, once for all, the cause of reform. It has always been obvious to everybody that, even if not very simple, the rules of the participle are reasonable.

The reformists themselves did not dream of touching them, except by always suppressing the agreement when the participle with "avoir" is accompanied by *en*. As the commission now puts it, that the past participle with "avoir" is always allowed to remain invariable, does it not look decidedly too much as if the reform had been made just to please a crowd of ignorant or unintelligent people, without any consideration whatever as to the justification of the action? The members of the commission ought not to have permitted themselves to be guided by the misleading and prevailing superficial democratic creeds of the

day, that whatever is simple is good. To reduce everything to the level of the lower classes may be—perhaps (?)—justified in other domains; certainly it will never be in the domain of science. "Easy" is not synonymous with "good;" far from it. M. Brunetière certainly struck the right note when he wrote: "S'il y a lieu de simplifier la syntaxe ou de réformer l'orthographe, il est inadmissible que la simplification ou cette réforme soient réglées par les exigences de l'école primaire; . . . il y a quelque chose de barbare à défigurer ainsi la physionomie de nos textes classiques, pour complaire aux familles de quelques candidats fonctionnaires et . . . enfin l'idée seule de prétendre simplifier systématiquement la syntaxe est le contraire d'une idée libérale, d'une idée scientifique et d'une idée de progrès."

But there is something else of still more gravity. The members of the commission seem to have forgotten that doing away with the rules of the past participle with *avoir* implies the ignorance of one of the characteristic features of the French language, the flexion of all determinative words. Some have tried to invoke the example of other languages like English where the past participle remains invariable, and where nobody is shocked by the lack of agreement in any case. This is perfectly true, but we cannot always compare two languages. For instance, we cannot compare the construction of the sentences in a language with flexion of words, Latin or German, with that in languages without flexion of the nouns, English or French. While in Latin we can say indifferently *Pater castigat puerum* and *Puerum castigat pater*, we cannot do the same in English and say indifferently *the father punishes the child*, or *the child punishes the father*. So, also, you cannot compare English and French in the question of agreement of the past participle.

In both languages the past participle is considered to be an adjective, and placed under the same rule with it, which is all perfectly logical. Now, while the English language, with the exception of a few determinative words, has no flexive adjectives, the French language, on the contrary, is based on the principle of agreement of all its adjectives—which carries with it the agreement of the past participle also.

Consequently in suppressing in some cases

this agreement of the past participle, the reformers have created a new exception in French grammar in favor of the past participle—and truly we had a plenty. It was even the opinion of many that the task of the commission was to suppress exceptions and not to invent new ones. The action of the commission is all the more astonishing in this instance, since the principle of agreement is explicitly retained for the present participle (distinction between the "adjective verbal," and the participle as simple adjective).

This abolition of the rule of the past participle with *avoir* is so little justified, that even M. Auguste Renard cannot approve of it entirely, and proposes—an exception (!)

"Qu'il soit permis," he says, "à un réformateur peu suspect d'un excès de timidité, de hasarder une restriction: cette simplification, légitime partout ailleurs, n'est-elle pas, en un point-lorsque le complément du participe est le pronom *le, la, les*—contraire au génie de la langue et de l'usage? Prenons un exemple où la prononciation du participe n'étant pas la même au féminin qu'au masculin, l'oreille, le vrai juge de la langue, exige le féminin: *Ma maison n'existe plus, on l'a détruite* (et non *détruit*); *cette lettre, qui l'a écrite*? (et non *écrit*); avez vous fait votre malle? *je l'ai faite* (et non *fait*). Il y a là un accord imposé, non par le caprice des grammairiens, mais par le génie même de la langue. Les illétrés, les paysans même, ignorants de la grammaire, observent cette règle instinctivement. Je doute que, pour l'abolir, on puisse invoquer l'exemple des bons auteurs."<sup>3</sup>

Let me say here in parenthesis that as a matter of fact, unless you apply in the strictest sense the phonetic orthography—which the

<sup>3</sup> One may ask why, then, the past participle with *avoir* agrees with the object when this object precedes, and not when it follows? Because there is a different meaning in these two cases. Although not realized by everybody, although rather delicate, it appears, nevertheless, very positive as soon as you analyze the sentences before you. If the participle with *avoir* precedes the object the verb has more of an active sense in it, the past participle is a part of the active verb. If the past participle follows its object, the passive sense is emphasized, the past participle becomes a true determinative of the object. An example with adequate translation will clearly illustrate the distinction:

*J'ai vu les hommes* = I have been seeing the men (*I* have been seeing action).

*Je les ai vus* = I had them seen (*they* were seen = passive and plural).

Remember that you never have the past participle agreeing except when the object or person you are mentioning has been spoken of before. So the sentence may easily become passive: the object is the essential thing and the speaker lays stress on it naturally. Suppose I tell a story, the important thing is not that "*I* have seen them," but that "*they* were seen." If you wish to emphasize the other side, you either replace the pronouns by the nouns, and thus bring back the active verb, or else you may express it by the tone of your voice.

reformists have given up, not without reason—you will never be able to do away with exceptions. See the fifth part of Renard's *La nouvelle orthographe*, page 81 et seq., where you see the apparently simplest rules requiring a restriction of some sort; and see also the edict of July, chapter on Compound Nouns. Nay, even with the phonetic orthography you would not reach your end, since as we just saw in M. Renard's remark, sometimes the flexion of a word has a result in the pronunciation, sometimes not: *la page que j'ai écrite, les livres que j'ai écrits*. More than that, the pronunciation depends, as we know, frequently upon the next word: *les livres que j'ai écrits seront publiés, les livres que j'ai écrits à Paris*. Even if you were to use the phonetic orthography, you ought to know the rules of the past participle. Nor is it necessary to take an example like that of M. Renard, where a new consonant is heard in the case of the feminine. There is a distinct difference in pronunciation, between *je l'ai vu* and *je l'ai vue*, the first is short, the second is long. We thus confront the startling dilemma if we agree to carry through the reform: either we reform pronunciation at the same time with orthography, or we simply violate the rules of phonetics. Is it possible that the commission did not think of this?<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Similarly in many cases of double consonants in nouns and adjectives: There is a very positive difference between *paysanne* and *courtisane* (the first short, the second long), there would be one between *bonne* and *bône*, the simplification proposed by the reformists, the first short, the second long (not change of sound from Greek *o* into *ô*, however). Thus the word *irrationality*, so profusely used by the reformists, is still here entirely out of place. It may be that the difference of pronunciation will, by and by, vanish; then it will be reasonable to suppress the superfluous letter, but if it is a bad thing to be behind one's times, it is not much better to be ahead of them, at least in such a matter as this. In very many cases the double consonant is still perfectly justified.

It may not be superfluous to point out that this is not in the least in contradiction with another passage in the first part of this article. When we criticized the way the reform had been taken up by the commission, we did not pretend to express our own opinion as to the suppression of double letters. We judged entirely from the standpoint of the reformists. As far as we are personally concerned, we do not feel positive at all that the pronunciation of *mille*, for instance, is not slightly different in *mil huit cent douze*, and in *mille desirs*. We should go so far as to admit a possible justification of a rule which demands *mil* in dates after Christ, and *mille* in dates before Christ. When we speak of our times, the word *mille* is after all secondary, the last part of the figure is important. On the contrary, if we speak of ancient times we take a broader view of the whole subject, and the big part of the figure will rather be insisted upon. This would betray itself in pronunciation by accentuation, accentuation brought about by unconsciously lengthening the word *mille*. This may seem very subtle; but who has ever seen any thorough treatment of a subject in the field of philology, which did not require a great delicacy of touch, and subtlety of reasoning?

But let us come back to the past participle. Of course you may pretend that the English system of invariability of adjectives and participles is superior to that of variability in French. But, again, this brings up the fundamental question, in how far both languages can be compared, which, it seems to us, cannot be solved but by linguists. On the other hand philology has not reached such a sufficiently advanced stage as to be able to answer the question properly. Even with scholars vague expressions like "génie de la langue," "instinct," "guidance by the ear" are constantly used. They are hard at work. When they will be able to tell us clearly what constitutes the genius of a language in general, or of each language in particular, it is difficult to foresee; but one thing is certain, that if ever anybody will know about it, they will be the ones: they will then have to decide, or rather it will naturally be decided, for each language what reforms can be taken up, which are rational and which are not. So far we are applying rules unconsciously, and scholars have been very prudent not to spoil a language by awkward corrections. And I think—at the risk of being called "réactionnaire"—they were right. The principle of simplicity, as it is understood by many reformists, is not the true one: the simplicity from the standpoint of scientific philology may sometimes, but certainly is not, ought not to be, the same as that from the standpoint of the general public. The present conditions of probably all living languages betray this. It would be much simpler, in the naïve, popular sense of the word, to have three genders in French instead of two, to have only one form for the three forms of the definite article, as in English, just as vice-versa, it would render the English language simpler if you had not to make the distinction between "who" and "which," or "his" and "her." Nobody asks for these changes because one realizes that there is some reason for it; we "feel" it as the term is: this feeling must become knowledge. Until then it will be better to avoid deforming languages while pretending to correct them. Where do the irrationalities of French grammar come from? From the grammarians of past times who did not know the natural conditions of things, and tried to atone for their ig-

norance by constructing artificial rules. What our task can be, is to undo what they have committed. Our work will hardly be of great use if, in so doing, we prepare new work of the same kind for our descendants.

A few words before ending as to the attitude of the French Academy towards the "arrêté" of last July. A motion was made in the Academy protesting, not against the reform itself, but against the fact of not having been consulted before the reform be put into practice.

M. Georges Leygues then asked a report from the Academy, report to be delivered before October 15, date of application of the new standard in judging examinations. What the result of this step has been we do not know as yet.

Some have been surprised at this claim of the Academy to be consulted. What rather will surprise thinking people is, on the contrary, to see hesitation about the right of the Academy to have an opinion in the matter, and even to ask to have this opinion taken into consideration. The Academy, it has been repeatedly said, never took the first step in such reforms, the Academy always followed the general decision of the people; and in the prefaces of the *Dictionnaire*, the desire to do so has been constantly affirmed. Granted. Note, however, first that the Academy followed, if it was ascertained that the reform was good. Secondly, that the Academy followed "l'usage," and a new usage was a result of natural laws of phonetics and formation of language. Never before has anybody taken such *decisions* as the recent one of the Minister of Public Instruction that such and such rules shall no more be taught in schools, which amounts to nothing else than to *impose* the usage. The question looks then altogether different.

It is further said—a kind of anticipated answer to the above objection—that the "Université" had stopped the free evolution of usage by establishing, at the beginning of the century, an inflexible orthography; thus the University had to take the first steps by undoing the wrong done by itself in the past. This is going too far. The University, full of good will, is prevented by nothing we know of, from consulting the recognized authority on the matter in France, as to the suitableness

of the new rules to be officially imposed on the general public. From the standpoint of the partisans of the University, the Academy ought to be considered as a simple servant, that has to obey orders from elsewhere. Suppose, now, the Academy refuses its consent to the reforms proposed—or imposed, what then? Either go back again to the old orthography, or to pass over the judgment of the Academy, another disquieting dilemma.

This inconsistency has been felt, and the effort made to meet it by claiming that the Academy is more conservative to-day than in the past centuries; so, in not confirming the reform, the illustrious body would fail in its mission. This, however, appears to be a rather poor way of reasoning. It is true that by the two great reforms taken up by the Academy in the last century—the first in 1740 suppressing a number of double letters (*ap-panage*) and unpronounced letters (*doubter*, *advocat*) the second in 1762, distinguishing sharply *i* and *j*, and *u* and *v*, causing the alphabet to have twenty-five letters instead of twenty-three—it is true that by these reforms over five thousand words, the quarter of the whole number of the words of the dictionary at this time, have been reformed. But, then, the language was nearer its origins (the first edition of the dictionary dates from 1694), and it is only natural that the further away from the origins, the less changes would occur, consequently also a more conservative attitude is today only natural. We grant that there are simplifications to be brought up: but, after all, are they not rather a logical and more complete application of principles adopted? We may with reason ask that the *p* of *compter* be suppressed, as well as the *b* of *doubter* has been, that the first *t* of *attirer* be done away with like the first *d* of *addresser*. We may, further, believe that compound nouns will finally cease to be so and enter into the language like single words. However, as a matter of fact, up to the present time it has been a rule only for words composed with foreign elements to be cast into one: *bimensuel*, *chiropédie*, *nécrémancie*. Words like *gendarme* are rather scarce, and so, although the future may very well see a uniform rule applied, it was per-

haps anticipating somewhat the event when the commission offered us the words of *essuimain*, *têtâtête*, *chédœuvre*, etc. It is certainly desirable that uniformity be applied in odd cases like *millionième* one *n*, and *millionnaire*, two *n*'s. But our generation is too fond of arbitrary changes brought about under the name of progress. To be sure, science is for progress. But let it stick to the old distinction between sound progress and mere apparent progress. If towards certain tendencies of the general public science must prove conservative, it is in fact only in order to show a more positive kind of progress. So, it seems to us, that all linguists ought to stand by the Academy, when this body does try to maintain the rights of science and prevent us from being carried away by superficial enthusiasms. In a time of popular progress like ours, it requires often as much courage to be on the conservative side, as it did in times past to be on the side of progress.

We borrow from A. Renard, a list of the standard books, to be studied with reference to the question in recent years:

- Jean S. Barés: *L'orthographe simplifiée*. (Bureaux du "Réformiste.") *Grammaire française*, 105 pages. [Just out.]
- Michel Bréal: *Réforme de l'orthographe française* (Hachette).
- L. Clédat: *Grammaire raisonnée de la langue française—avec préface de M. Gaston Paris* (Le Soudier).
- M. Coty: *La révision de l'orthographe de l'Académie française* (Firmin Didot).
- Ernault et Chevaldin: *Manuel d'orthographe française simplifiée* (Bouillon).
- Louis Havet: *Simplification de l'Orthographe* (Hachette).
- Ch. Lebaigue: *La réforme orthographique et l'Académie française* (Plon et Nourrit).
- M. Malvezin: *Dictionnaire de la société philologique française* (Delagrave).
- Eug. Monseur: *Réforme de l'orthographe française* (Weissembrach, Bruxelles).
- Paul Passy: *Les Sons du français* (Firmin Didot).
- Aug. Renard: *La Nouvelle orthographe—avec un préface de M. Louis Havet* (Delagrave).

E. Rodhe: La nouvelle réforme de l'orthographe (Lund). [Just out.]

As to periodicals, two of them, the *Réformiste* of M. J. Barés, and the *Bulletin des Sommaires*, are printed entirely according to a new system of orthography. *Revue de philologie* is the organ of the French Society. *Revue Algérienne*, of the Colonial Association. The two Swiss and Belgian Associations publish *Bulletins*. As very favorable to the reform, may further be quoted: *L'école Nouvelle*, of M. Devinat, the *Journal des Instituteurs*, of M. Seignette, the *Revue pédagogique*, the official organ of primary instruction in France, the *Revue et Revue des Revues*, etc.

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#### DIE ANTEZEDENTIIEN DER HELENA IN GOETHE'S FAUST.

##### V.

Wie sich Goethe die natürliche Entstehung eines Organismus dachte, sagt er selbst deutlich genug, und zwar zu einer Zeit, in der einerseits seine Überzeugung auf diesem Gebiet im Wesentlichen abgeschlossen war, andererseits eine Gestaltung der wissenschaftlichen Ansicht zu Gunsten der Faustdichtung, wenn eine solche Möglichkeit überhaupt anzunehmen wäre, unter allen Umständen ausgeschlossen bliebe. In dem bereits 1820 zuerst gedruckten Aufsatz "Bildungstrieb" (Zur Morphologie, I. Bd., 2. Heft: Ausgabe letzter Hand, Bd. 50, 47-64; Weim. Ausgabe, Abt. II, Bd. 7, S. 71 ff.) fasst Goethe seine Überzeugung, dass zur Entstehung eines lebenden Organismus drei Grundbedingungen zusammentreffen müssen (ein Aufnehmendes = Stoff, ein Aufzunehmendes = Lebenskraft, und etwas, was vorausgehen musste, sei es als Prädelination, Prädetermination, Prästabiliren = Form), schliesslich in dem "Schema" zusammen:

	Stoff.	
Vermögen.	}	Leben.
Kraft.		
Gewalt.		
Streben.		
Trieb.		
	Form.	

Die von Goethes Vorgängern (Caspar Fried-

rich Wolff: *vis essentialis*; Blumenbach: *nisus formativus*) verwendeten Ausdrücke genügen ihm nicht. Wolffs Auffassung, die auf eine organische Materie hindeutet, die zu dem zu belebenden Unbelebten hinzutreten müsste ("Epigenesis") befriedigt ihn nicht, weil "an einer organischen Materie, und wenn sie noch so lebendig gedacht wird, immer etwas Stoffartiges kleben bleibt." Der Ausdruck "Kraft" enthält nur etwas "Physisches, sogar Mechanisches, und das was sich aus jener Materie organisieren soll, bleibt uns ein dunkler unbegreiflicher Punkt." Blumenbach "anthropomorphosierte das Wort des Rätsels und nannte das, wovon die Rede war, einen *nisus formativus*, einen Trieb, eine heftige Thätigkeit, wodurch die Bildung bewirkt werden sollte." Aber auch das scheinen ihm "Worte zu sein, mit denen wir uns nur hinhalten," und so beschreibt er nur die ihm notwendig erscheinenden drei Bedingungen, die im Zusammenhang mit seinem Schema so zu verstehen sind, wie es oben erklärt worden ist. Das was das Aufnehmende, der Stoff, aufzunehmen hat, bezeichnet er in dem Schema mit einer Reihe von Ausdrücken, die in wachsender Klarheit und Bestimmtheit das besagen, was er sonst als Lebenskraft, Lebensprinzip, das Lebendige benennt. Über die "einzelnen Betrachtungen und Aphorismen," die jetzt unter dem Titel "Über Naturwissenschaft im Allgemeinen" in der Weimarer Ausgabe, Abt. II, Bd. II, S. 103-163 zu finden sind (über die ersten Drucklegungen giebt die Einleitung zu den Lesarten Auskunft) sagt R. Steiner, der Bearbeiter dieses Bandes, auf Seite 326: "S. 103-163 enthält die Quintessenz der Goetheschen Naturansicht in einzelnen Aphorismen," "S. 164-166 behandelt die Polarität als allgemeinstes Urphänomen." Auf S. 156 sagt Goethe:

"Das Lebendige hat die Gabe, sich nach den vielfältigsten Bedingungen äusserer Einflüsse zu bequemen und doch eine gewisse Selbständigkeit nicht aufzugeben:"

es vermag also einen bestimmten Charakter zu bewahren und sich zugleich den jedesmaligen Bedingungen anzupassen. Es ist das möglich, weil die Natur die "Gewandtheit" besitzt,

"wodurch sie, obgleich auf wenige Grundmax-

imen eingeschränkt, das Mannigfaltigste hervorbringen weiss. Sie bedient sich hier des Lebensprinzips, welches die Möglichkeit enthält, die einfachsten Anfänge der Erscheinungen durch Steigerungen ins Unendliche und Unähnlichste zu vermannigfaltigen" (S. 165).

An dieser Anschauung hält Goethe unentwegt fest: er sucht besonders das unmittelbar in der Natur sich offenbarende Lebensprinzip praktisch nachzuweisen. Wie er schon in dem Jahre 1786 ("Vorarbeiten für Morphologie," Abt. ii, Bd. 7, S. 31) darauf hingewiesen hatte, dass der im Kerne der Dattelpalme enthaltene Keim "lange seine Lebenskraft behält," so will er in den Jahren 1829-31 diese Lebenskraft direkt wissenschaftlich nachweisen und ihre unmittelbaren Träger oder Offenbarer feststellen. In dem Aufsatz "Über die Spiraltendenz der Vegetation" ebda S. 37 ff (vgl. dazu Paralipomena iv, S. 345 den älteren Entwurf) erklärt er von der vertikalen Tendenz geradezu:

"Diese ist anzusehen wie ein geistiger Stab, welcher das Dasein begründet und solches auf lange Zeit zu erhalten fähig ist. Dieses Lebensprinzip manifestiert sich in den Längsfasern, usw.,"

und S. 45 heisst es:

"Öfters hab' ich bemerkt, wenn ich die Spiralgefässe von den jungen mächtigen Schösslingen krautartiger Pflanzen absonderte, dass sie sich heftig bewegten. Diese Bewegung dauerte einige Sekunden und schien mir eine Wirkung des Lebensprinzips zu sein, dem ähnlich, welches in der tierischen Haushaltung stattfindet, und nicht bloß mechanische Aktion."

Es kommt hier natürlich nicht darauf an, ob diese Erklärungen an sich richtig sind oder den gegenwärtig geltenden Anschauungen in der Naturwissenschaft entsprechen, sondern nur darauf, dass Goethe von dieser Anschauung erfüllt war und dass, wenn er eine künstliche Wiederbelebung entsprechend der natürlichen Erzeugung darstellen wollte, er sich nur innerhalb dieses Gedanken- und Anschauungskreises bewegen konnte. Wenn er daher 1824 und 1826, wo es sich nur um eine allgemeine Orientierung des Lesers des als selbständige Dichtung und ausserhalb des Zusammenhangs erscheinenden Helenadramas handeln sollte, noch die frühere Auffassung von einem mechanischen Zauber zur Bewir-

kung der Wiederbelebung der Helena festhalten konnte, also zu einer Zeit, wo die praktisch-künstlerische Ausführung der Antezedentien ihm noch fern lag, ja, in der er ihre Verwirklichung für ausgeschlossen hielt, so war das nicht mehr der Fall, als der Augenblick der praktisch-künstlerischen Ausführung nun endlich wirklich erschienen war. Jetzt verlangte das Auftreten der Helena für seine dichterische Wahrscheinlichkeit ein ganz anderes Verfahren: die künstliche Neubelebung musste sich nach den Thatsachen einer natürlichen Erzeugung vollziehen, d.h. der Entstehung eines organischen Lebens durch Verbindung von Stoff und Form, vermittelt durch die Lebenskraft. Stoff und Form liessen sich leicht finden. Für den Stoff boten sich nach der in der Dichtung angenommenen Weltanschauung die mittelalterlichen vier Elemente von selbst dar; die Form gab der von der Persephone aus der Unterwelt zu entlassende Schatten der einst wirklich gestorbenen Helena. Aber wo sollte die Lebenskraft hergenommen werden? Hier tritt nun die geniale Umgestaltung des Homunkulus der Entwürfe 1824 und 1826 in den Homunkulus der fertigen Dichtung ein, die geniale Umgestaltung, die Gerber als "nothing but a fantastic lucubration of his (Valentin's) own brain" bezeichnet; ich bedaure den Ruhm für diese Umgestaltung zurückweisen zu müssen; er kommt einem weit Grösseren zu, dessen Spuren zu folgen Gerber durch seine durchaus nicht genialen Urteile mich nicht hindern wird.

## VI.

Zunächst ist an die oben nachgewiesene Feststellung hier zu erinnern: für das Auftreten der Helena liegt in der Umgestaltung des Mittels ihrer Wiederbelebung keinerlei fundamentaler Unterschied: bei jedem der Wege, die eingeschlagen werden konnten, war diese Wiederbelebung eine künstliche, zauberhafte, und somit sachlich stets durchaus dieselbe; nur konnte der eine plausibler als der andre erscheinen. Wohl aber liegt ein fundamentaler Unterschied in den diese verschiedenen Wege führenden Zaubermitteln, und der fundamentalste zeigt sich innerhalb der Ausbildung der Gestalt des Homunkulus selbst.

Diese fundamentale Umgestaltung des Homunkulus geht Hand in Hand mit der fundamentalen Umgestaltung, die die Bedeutung und die Aufgabe der klassischen Walpurgisnacht allmählich erfahren hat. Im Entwurf 1824 ist sie ebensowenig wie Homunkulus vorhanden, wohl aber wird noch der Ring als Zaubermittel für die Wiederbelebung der Helena und die Erhaltung ihres Aufenthalts auf der Oberwelt benutzt. Im Entwurf 1826 ist von dem Ring nicht mehr die Rede, dagegen treten klassische Walpurgisnacht und Homunkulus auf. Aber Mephistopheles, der "nicht bekennen mag, dass er im klassischen Hades nichts zu sagen habe, auch dort nicht einmal gerne gesehen sei" benutzt beide nur als Mittel um Faust von seinem Wunsche, Helena sich zu gewinnen, abzulenken. Daher "bedient er sich seines früheren probaten Mittels, seinen Gebieter nach allen Seiten hin und her zu sprengen." Hiernach ergibt sich für die klassische Walpurgisnacht die durchaus gleiche Aufgabe, die die romantische Walpurgisnacht hat: Faust soll von dem abgelenkt werden, was er wünscht, was aber Mephistopheles für seinen eignen Zweck nicht brauchen kann. Dort ist es die Verbindung mit Gretchen, aus der Faust gelöst werden sollte, hier ist es die Verbindung mit Helena, die Faust vergessen oder an der er verhindert werden soll. Beidesmal wird aber der Weg, den Mephistopheles einschlägt, gerade das Mittel des Dichters, Faust eben das erlangen zu lassen, was Mephistopheles vermieden sehen möchte. Dadurch dass Faust auf dringende Bitten des Mephistopheles sich abseits von dem Zug der Masse zu dem Satan selbst führen lässt, begegnet er der Ersehung des Idols: von diesem Augenblick haben die Bemühungen des Mephistopheles, die Aufmerksamkeit Fausts von Gretchen abzulenken, keinen Erfolg mehr, und Faust zwingt Mephistopheles, ihn zu Gretchen zurückzubringen. Um Faust Helena vergessen zu lassen, benutzt Mephistopheles dieses Mittel "seinen Gebieter nach allen Seiten hin und her zu sprengen": "hier gelangen wir zu gar vielen, Aufmerksamkeit fordernden Mannigfaltigkeiten." Endlich, ähnlich wie die romantische Walpurgisnacht nur der Abschluss der Faust von Gretchen ablenkenden Zerstreuungen ist,

"zuletzt noch die wachsende Ungeduld des Herren zu beschwichtigen. beredet er ihn, gleichsam im Vorbeigehen zum Ziele den akademisch-angestellten Doktor und Professor Wagner zu besuchen;"

dieser Besuch geschieht also nur zur Ablenkung Fausts von Helena; aber gerade diese Ablenkung ist es, die Faust sehr gegen den Willen des Mephistopheles auf den Weg zur Helena führt.

Sie finden Wagner "hoch glorieierend, dass eben ein chemisch Menschlein zustande gekommen:" es ist also bei ihrer Ankunft schon fertig und entsteht nicht erst durch Beihilfe des Mephistopheles. "Dieses zersprengt augenblicks den leuchtenden Glaskolben:" später ist seine vorläufige Existenz an seinen Aufenthalt in dem unversehrten Glase gebunden. Ein Streit zwischen Mephistopheles und dem chemischen Männlein, das sich seiner chronologischen Kenntnisse rühmt, bringt es dazu, zu behaupten,

"die gegenwärtige Nacht treffe gerade mit der Stunde zusammen, wo die pharsalische Schlacht vorbereitet worden, und welche sowohl Cäsar als Pompejus schlaflos zugebracht."

Wie Mephistopheles widerspricht, behauptet es weiter,

"dass zu gleicher Zeit das Fest der klassischen Walpurgisnacht hereintrete, das seit Anbeginn der mythischen Welt immer in Thessalien gehalten worden sei und, nach dem gründlichen durch Epochen bestimmten Zusammenhang der Weltgeschichte, eigentlich Ursache an jenem Unglück gewesen."

Alle vier, also auch Wagner, ziehen dorthin; Wagner nimmt eine "reine Phiole" mit, um, "die zu einem chemischen Weiblein nötigen Elemente zusammenzusiedeln:" also die Herstellung einer Zwergenfamilie ist in Aussicht genommen. Homunkulus ist ja schon fertig und hat nichts mehr zu erstreben, und gelänge es Wagner, das chemische Weiblein in gleicher Weise herzustellen, so wäre auch dies beim Austritt aus der Phiole fertig; von einem Weiterstreben, von einem eigentlichen Entstehen, das als Ziel zu denken wäre, ist nirgends die Rede. Nun kommen in Thessalien die mancherlei Zerstreuungen. Nur dadurch dass Mephistopheles "mit Enyo Bekanntschaft macht" und trotz ihrer "grandiosen Hässlichkeit" ihre Gunst zu erwerben trachtet, so dass er den Faust aus dem Auge

verliert, kann dieser durch Chiron auf den rechten Weg gebracht werden. Lamien in der denkbar reizendsten Gestaltung locken ihn und

"wenn Faust nicht das höchste Gebild der Schönheit in sich selbst aufgenommen, hätte er notwendig verführt werden müssen."

Er kommt durch Chiron zu Manto, diese geleitet ihn in den Orkus, und sie (oder nach Eckermann Faust) bewegt die Persephone, Helena zu entlassen: es geschieht unter der Bedingung eingeschränkten Wohnens und Bleibens auf dem Boden von Sparta. Das chemische Menschlein gehört also zu den Zerstreuungen, die Mephistopheles für Faust sucht und, wo sie sich ihm, wie hier, unerwartet bieten, gerne ergreift, um Faust von Helena abzulenken: es wird aber, gegen den Willen des Mephistopheles, gerade das Mittel, Faust zu seinem Ziele zu bringen. Von einer Absicht des chemischen Männleins, dies zu thun, ist keine Rede: es kennt nicht einmal das Ziel Fausts, trägt auch sachlich nichts dazu bei, soweit es sich um eine bewusste Beihilfe handelt, und hat also auch mit Helena nichts zu thun.

Und die fundamentale Umgestaltung des chemischen Männleins durch den ausführenden und dabei den strengsten Zusammenhang des Ganges der Handlung mit fester und sicherer Hand herstellenden Dichter! Aus einem Ablenkungsmittel, das auch durch ein anderes hätte ersetzt werden können, wenn dieses nur die gleiche Wirkung, die von seiner Seite unbeabsichtigte Verbindung Fausts mit Helena, gehabt hätte, wird er ein Wesensbestandteil der Handlung. Ein Ausfluss des geistigen Wesens des Mephistopheles und zum Zweck der dramatischen Erscheinung nach echt dichterischer Weise "anthropomorphosiert," was wissenschaftlich ein Fehler wäre, dichterisch eine geniale Erfindung ist, erkennt er sofort Fausts Träume, weiss, da Mephistopheles nicht helfen kann, das Mittel zu finden: er führt Faust in die klassische Walpurgisnacht zu dem bestimmt und klar ausgesprochenen Zweck, dazu beizutragen, ihm dort zu seinem Ziele zu verhelfen. Mephistopheles geht zögernd und nur durch die Lusternheit gereizt, mit, Wagner bleibt zurück, Homunkulus existiert nur in der Flasche,

strebt aber darnach, wirklich zu entstehen: das was ihm fehlt, ist die Form und die Materie—er ist ein geistiges Wesen. Von Proteus, dem Gotte der Verwandlung, wird er auf das Meer getragen. Das Meer wird das Mittel, in die Verbindung mit der Materie zu treten, und durch das Wasser auch mit den andern Elementen; die Form, die er als höchstes Ziel erstrebt, findet er in der höchsten weiblichen Schönheit unter den Geistern, bei der Galatea. An ihrem Wagen zerschellt er sein Glas—sein letztes Wort ist "schön." Aber Galatea selbst kann ihm die Form nicht gewähren: sie ist fertig und in ihrem Wesen abgeschlossen: als geistiges Wesen besitzt sie die Lebenskraft und bedarf im irdischen Sinne der Materie nicht, um lebendig zu sein. Es muss daher ein ebenbürtiger Ersatz eintreten. Wie das geistige Wesen, was Homunkulus bisher allein ist, in dem noch formentbehrenden Funken—Flamme ist stets die erste Stufe bei dem Übergange des Geistigen in das Körperliche—in das Meer, den Mutterschoß alles körperlich mit Materie ausgestalteten Lebens, sich ergiesst, treffen diese Funken auf die Schatten der eben in derselben Nacht von Persephone entlassenen Schattenbilder der Helena und ihrer ganzen trojanisch-griechischen Umgebung. Entspricht es nun nicht ganz genau dem von Goethe beschriebenen Vorgang bei der natürlichen Zeugung, dass bei der künstlichen Wiederbelebung der Helena mit ihrem gerade eben in derselben Nacht dem Hades entstiegenen Schattenbilde die durch Homunkulus belebten Elemente sich vereinigen, so dass die Schattenbilder die belebten Elemente finden, die sie zu einer wahrhaft lebendigen Existenz brauchen, und dass die belebten Elemente die Formen finden, ohne die sie in den grossen Gang der belebten Natur eintreten und je nach dem Elemente, in dessen Wirkungsbereich sie gelangten, die dem Gange der natürlichen Entwicklung belebter Elemente angehörigen Formen annehmen müssten? Das geschieht später in der That, sobald die trojanischen Mädchen unter Aufgebung ihrer Persönlichkeit sich lieber jeder Formgestaltung des belebten Stoffes fügen, wenn sie nur nicht die unerwartet neugewonnene Lebenskraft wieder aufzugeben brauchen. Bei den andern Personen geschieht das Entweichen der

Lebenskraft in Gestalt von Lichterscheinungen, ebenso wie sie zu ihnen getreten war. Dieser Prozess der Verbindung der drei Bestandteile findet im Meere statt, und Helena kommt bei ihrem wirklichen Auftreten vom Meere her.

## VII.

Aber die Vereinigung der Funken, die sich ins Meer ergiessen, mit den aus der Unterwelt heraufgestiegenen Schatten geschieht ja nicht vor unsern Augen: ist sie darum vielleicht weniger glaubwürdig? Wenn die romantische Walpurgisnacht aufhört, befindet sich Faust im Theater; in der folgenden Szene ist er vom Berge heruntergestiegen, auf irgendeine Weise hat er Gretchens Schicksal vernommen—gelegentlich bestand die Absicht, ihn es durch "Kielkröpfe" hören zu lassen, ob vor unsren Augen oder nicht, wird nicht gesagt: hat er etwa Gretchens Schicksal nicht erfahren, weil der Dichter die Erfahrung nicht vor uns geschehen lässt, und haben wir das Recht zu sagen: wir glauben es überhaupt nicht? oder genügt etwa nicht die Thatsache, dass Faust die Kunde erhalten hat, und belehrt sie uns nicht, dass die Vermittlung stattgehabt hat, dass also der Zusammenhang vollständig da ist? Wenn Faust aus Gretchens Kerker fortgegangen ist, so finden wir ihn im Freien schlafend wieder—wie er dahingekommen, sagt der Dichter nicht, und was braucht uns daran zu liegen, wie es geschehen ist—genügt nicht, dass die Thatsache uns entgegentritt? An Kaisers Hof erscheint Faust zuerst als Plutus—wie er dorthingekommen und eingeführt worden ist, sagt der Dichter nicht—fehlt darum der sachliche Zusammenhang zwischen dem erquickten erwachenden und vom Schuldbewusstsein befreiten Faust und dem hier am Hof auftretenden Faust, und werden wir sagen: weil wir nicht sehen, wie Mephistopheles den Faust dorthin bringt, glauben wir an den Zusammenhang dieser Szene mit der vorhergehenden nicht? Nachdem Faust durch Manto in die Unterwelt eingelassen worden ist, erscheint er erst wieder als Schlossherr in der Nähe von Sparta—der Dichter sagt nicht, wie er dorthin gekommen ist, woher das Schloss, woher seine Gefolgschaft rührt—werden wir zweifelnd davor stehen und sagen: das muss ein anderer Faust sein? Nun ist aber

gerade im Gegensatz zu solchen Selbstverständlichkeiten Goethe bemüht, die Antezedentien der Helena so klar wie möglich zu legen; den zweiten Akt schreibt er gerade zu dem Zweck, das Auftreten der Helena zu begründen. Helena soll sich "als dritter Akt ganz ungezwungen" anschliessen und sich "genugsam vorbereitet, nicht mehr phantasmagorisch," also als volle, reale Wirklichkeit, ferner nicht mehr "eingeschoben," also als im engsten Zusammenhang der organischen Entwicklung der Handlung auftretend erweisen (Brief an Zelter, 24. Jan. 1828: Pniower, N. 623, S. 210.). Wie Goethe Eckermann mitteilt, die klassische Walpurgisnacht sei zustande gekommen, antwortet dieser aus seiner Kenntnis der Dichtung und ihres Zusammenhangs heraus: "die drei ersten Akte wären also vollkommen fertig, die Helena verbunden" (14. September, 1830: Pniower, N. 832, S. 253): wie soll denn aber durch den Abschluss des zweiten Aktes, der klassischen Walpurgisnacht, die Helena "verbunden" sein, wenn der zweite Akt und sein Schluss nichts mit ihr zu thun hat? Thatsächlich ist aber die klassische Walpurgisnacht ausschliesslich dazu da, uns zu zeigen, wie es möglich ist, dass die Helena wahrhaft lebend auftreten kann. Erst träumt bei Wagner Faust von der natürlichen Erzeugung der Helena, dann sieht in der Geisternacht Faust diese Erzeugung sich wiederholen, dann wird er in die Unterwelt zur Persephone geleitet, um den Schatten der Helena loszubitten—wo kommt denn das Übrige her, was zum wirklichen Leben gehört und was Helena thatsächlich dann besitzt, Stoff und Leben? Nachdem Mephistopheles durch seine Umgestaltung zur Phorkyas fähig geworden ist, dem Faust auch in der erneuten antiken Welt zu dienen, wendet sich der Dichter ausschliesslich dem Homunkulus und seinem Bestreben, wirklich zu entstehen, zu: er führt es bis zu dem Augenblick, wo Homunkulus durch das Zersprengen der Flasche und seine Vermählung mit dem Ozean und durch ihn auch mit den übrigen Elementen fähig wird, das Schattenbild zu einer wahrhaft wirklich lebenden Neuschöpfung zu machen, und—sofort tritt nun Helena auf: und das sollte nicht der denkbar engste sachliche Zusammenhang sein? Als Karl von Holtei in

Weimar eine Vorlesung des Faust veranstaltete, kam er Tags zuvor zu Goethe, um ihn über einiges zu befragen. Er habe, erzählt er selbst, zu Goethe gesagt:

“Ich habe mir zwar alle Mühe damit gegeben, aber alles verstehe ich doch nicht. Möchten Sie mir nicht z. B. erklären, was eigentlich damit gemeint sei, wenn Faust an Helenas Seite die Landgebiete an einzelne Heerführer verteilt? Ob eine bestimmte Andeutung?—Er liess mich nicht ausreden, sondern unterbrach mich sehr freundlich: ‘Ja, ja, Ihr guten Kinder! wenn ihr nur nicht so dumm wäret!’” (Siehe Pniower, N. 634, S. 214).

Goethe verlangte von den Lesern seiner Faustdichtung in der That nichts Geringes. Als er seinem Sohn die Helena zu lesen gegeben hatte und dieser erklärte, die zweite Hälfte sei ihm nicht recht lebendig geworden, meinte der Vater etwas ironisch:

“Der antike Teil gefällt dir aus dem Grunde, weil er fasslich ist, weil du die einzelnen Teile übersehen und du meiner Vernunft mit der deinigen beikommen kannst. In der zweiten Hälfte ist zwar auch allerlei Verstand und Vernunft gebraucht und verarbeitet worden; allein es ist schwer und erfordert einiges Studium, ehe man den Dingen beikommt und ehe man mit eigener Vernunft die Vernunft des Autors wieder herausfindet” (Eckermann, 18. April, 1827: Pniower, N. 518, S. 185).

Das ist nun freilich zum Verständnis der klassischen Walpurgisnacht mindestens ebenso nötig, zumal deren Schluss mit dem Schluss des Helenadramas im allerengsten Zusammenhang steht: was sich dort zu vereinigen strebt, löst sich hier wieder auf. Dennoch ist Goethe sicher, dass der vernünftigen Betrachtung, dem liebevollen Studium das gelingt, worauf es ankommt: den Zusammenhang auch da zu erkennen, wo ein hinter dem Vorhang vor sich gehender selbstverständlicher Vorgang zu ergänzen ist:

“Der Sinn und die Idee des Ganzen wird sich dem vernünftigen Leser entgegenbringen, wenn ihm auch an Übergängen zu supplieren genug übrig bleibt” (Riemers Mitteilungen über Goethe 2, 568 f.: Pniower, N. 853, S. 257 f.).

### VIII.

Aber alle diese Ausführungen sind ja schliesslich doch nur “verlorne Liebesmüh,” wenigstens für einen Gelehrten, für einen Vertreter der historischen Methode, wie es Cerber ist: er hat zum Schlusse noch eine

Keule bereit, mit der er des Gegners Theorie niederschmettert; und damit sie nicht wieder auferstehen kann, besitzt er auch den nötigen Siegellack, so dass nicht nur das Grab versiegelt werden, sondern sogar ein doppeltes Siegel darauf gedrückt werden kann: “a double seal on the final overthrow of Valentin’s hypothesis.” Wie schade! Sie war doch so übel nicht, es ist ja zwar zu beklagen; “this view has met with a good deal of favor among Goethe scholars in Germany,” und einer (Heinemann) hat sie sogar “the most reasonable among the many explanations” genannt. Aber das ist auch nur zu begreifen, weil die deutschen Gelehrten es für einfacher halten, statt selbst zu denken, der Autorität Valentin’s zu folgen: “it is most likely because they take Valentin’s authority for it instead of thinking themselves” (M. L. N., Febr. 1897, p. 71).—Die armen deutschen Gelehrten! “So seid ihr Götterbilder auch zu Staub;” und nun noch geschwind die zwei Siegel, und mit der Auferstehung ist es aus—wenn sie festhalten! Sie halten aber nicht fest.

Die Keule, die meine Hypothese zertrümmern soll, ist Paralipomenon 157, datiert vom 18. Juni, 1830; die zwei Siegel sind zwei daran geschlossene Behauptungen Gerbers: lassen wir ihm den Vorrang!

“In the first place, the conditions of Helena’s return to life are still (d.h. 1830) the same as they were in 1826:”

wie jemand die “boldness” haben kann, das zu behaupten, ist unbegreiflich! 1826, W. A. xv, 2, S. 176: Bedingung der Wiederbelebung magischer Ring von Persephone, von der Unterwelt ist *mit keiner Silbe* die Rede! 1826, 10. Juni (ebd., S. 213) Erlaubnis der Persephone Aufenthalt “auf dem eigentlichen Boden Spartas.” 1826, 17. Dez. (S. 211 f.) und Paralipomenon 99: ebenso. Im Paral. 157 aber heisst es:

“Die Helena war schon einmal auf die Insel Leuke beschränkt. Jetzt auf Spartanischem Gebiet soll sie sich lebendig erweisen.”

Es heisst aber hier 1830 *nicht*, wie 1826: “dass sie sich nirgends als auf dem eigentlichen Boden von Sparta des Lebens wieder erfreuen soll.” Gerade diese einschränkende Bedingung ist hier fortgelassen, jede Analogie mit dem früheren beschränkten Aufenthalt ist

vermieden, und es steht nur possitiv da: "Jetzt auf spartanischem Gebiete soll sie sich lebendig erweisen"! Goethe konnte eben hier die früheren Bedingungen nicht mehr erwähnen, er hatte sie fallen gelassen, denn nun war Homunkulus mit seiner Bedeutung für Helena eingetreten. Gerber beachtet nicht, dass Goethe, 1827 beginnend, von 1829 bis 1830 bei sehr allmählicher Entstehung des zweiten Aktes die Entwürfe von 1826 gänzlich umgestaltet hat: er ist dabei "so infatuated with a pet theory that he no longer pays attention to the conditions of time and place."

Das zweite Siegel Gerbers ist die naive Behauptung, dass, wenn nach dem zweiten Akt der Vorhang gefallen ist und er sich zum Beginn des dritten Aktes wieder hebt, "Manto has not yet even made the request for Helena's release!" Wo steht denn das in der Dichtung? Wie kann denn der *spectator* bei einer Aufführung dies merken? Sehr einfach! Der *spectator* erinnert sich sofort, wenn der Vorhang sich hebt, an das Paralipomenon N. 157, zuerst gedruckt 1888, also jetzt natürlich in Fleisch und Blut aller *spectators* übergegangen! Aber es wird vielleicht selbst unter den *spectators* Leute geben, die den simplen Gedanken zu fassen imstande sind: Was geht uns ein sechshundfünfzig Jahre nach des Dichters Tode veröffentlichtes Paralipomenon an, wenn wir die fertige Dichtung lesen oder sehen, durch die alle früheren Entwürfe und Pläne aufgehoben sind? In der endgültigen Fassung der Dichtung steht mit keiner Silbe auch nur die geringste Andeutung, dass zwischen dem Ende der Walpurgisnacht und dem Anfang des Helenadramas irgend ein Zeitraum liegt, dass an die Nacht der Tag sich nicht ebenso unmittelbar anknüpft, wie an die Romantische Walpurgisnacht die nächste Szene "Trüber Tag. Feld." Aber wir Gelehrte wissen nun ja, dass Paral. 157 esistiert—kein Wunder, dass wir Gelehrte auch hier wieder einmal die Dinge besser verstehen als die grosse Masse. Thatsächlich lehrt uns das Paral. 157 nur, dass Goethe noch unmittelbar beim Abschluss, vielleicht genauer unmittelbar vor dem Abschluss (14. Juni 1830: Hauptmotive abgeschlossen; 15. Juni: Neue Resolution wegen Faust. 18. Juni Schema, jetzt als Paral. 157 bezeichnet; 25. Juni Brief

an August: Abschluss der Walpurgisnacht mitgeteilt, also doch wohl nicht erst an diesem Tage abgeschlossen, sondern zwischen dem 18. und dem 25. Juni: Pniower 824-827, S. 252) die Möglichkeit noch einmal erwogen hat, ob er nicht die Szene Manto und Faust vor der Proserpina in der Unterwelt doch ausführen solle: das wird wohl die "Neue Resolution" in der Notiz vom 15. Juni gewesen sein. Das Paralipomenon giebt sodann den Versuch, wie in diesem Stadium der Dichtung die Ausführung jetzt etwa vorgenommen werden könnte. Thatsächlich hat aber Goethe diese Ausführung nicht gemacht, und da er sie auch jetzt wieder verworfen hat, so hat er auch diesmal wie schon früher diese Einschaltung der einen Lebensphäre in die andere verworfen: wir aber haben den Gang der Handlung nicht zu beurteilen nach dem, was er verworfen, sondern nach dem, was er behalten und ausgeführt hat. Dieses beständige Zusammenwerfen der gelegentlichen Pläne des Dichters mit der wirklich, ausgeführten Dichtung, als ob diese zwei Elemente für die Beurteilung der Faustdichtung gleichwertig seien, ist der schlimmste methodologische Fehler Gerbers, der, auch wenn er der einzige wäre, hinreichte, seine auf solchen falschen Voraussetzungen aufgebauten Reflexionen als nichtig hinzustellen. So taugt auch das zweite Siegel nichts, ja die Keule Gerbers, das Paralipomenon 157 als Beweismittel, zerstiört selbst in Trümmer, indem sie anderes zerschlagen möchte.

Aber Gerbers Verfahren ist noch naiver. Ich habe darauf hingewiesen, dass wir es in der Klassischen Walpurgisnacht mit einer jährlich nur einmal zum Leben erwachenden Geisterwelt zu thun haben, während das Helenadrama zwar auch auf der Oberwelt, aber in vollster körperlicher Realität sich abspielt. Proserpina als Gottheit besitzt aber eine über die Geisternacht dauernde reale Existenz: die Heidenwelt haust in "ihrer eignen Hölle," d.h. die Unterwelt, wie der Griechen sie sich vorstellte, hat dieselbe Realität und dieselbe ununterbrochene Dauer wie die mittelalterliche Hölle,—eine Anschauung, die durch das Mittelalter durchgeht und mit Entschiedenheit bei Dante auftritt. Wenn Goethe uns in diese Welt einführte, so wäre dies ein Schau-

platz, dessen bleibende Realität in grellem Gegensatz zu der einnächtlichen Erscheinung der Geisterwelt der Klassischen Walpurgisnacht stände. Wenn er mit dieser vorübergehenden Geisternacht die bleibende Unterwelt unmittelbar in der räumlichen Erscheinung verbunden hätte, so hätte er in die Geisternacht eine Daseinsart von ganz anderem Wesen eingeschaltet, eine ewige Welt mitten in eine vorübergehende gestellt: diese von mir nachgewiesene Einschaltung einer Daseinsart in eine andere, mit der sie nicht stimmt, und die eingetreten wäre, wenn Goethe die Szene Manto vor Proserpina ausgeführt hätte, fasst nun Gerber in unbegreiflich kurzsichtiger Weise so, als ob damit ausgedrückt werden sollte, ich meinte, Goethe habe die beabsichtigte Szene in der Unterwelt unmittelbar an die Szene des Zwiegespräches der Manto und des Faust anfügen wollen! Er merkt gar nicht, dass diese Einschaltung eingetreten wäre, mochte Goethe die Szene hinstellen, wo er hinwollte, also auch wenn er sie an das Ende des zweiten oder den Anfang des dritten Aktes gestellt hätte: dass er sie aber irgendwo anders hätte hinstellen wollen, ist *nirgends* behauptet worden. So fällt denn auch seine schöne Deklamation von der Weimarer Ausgabe "which was always at his [Valentin's] elbow and of which he is himself co-editor," sowie die glänzende Aufzählung der "eight different places," die alle beweisen sollen, dass "Goethe never dreamed of inserting it, but always intended to put it at the close." Wer träumt, ist einzig und allein Gerber, der nicht einsieht, dass die Einführung einer dauernden Wirklichkeit in eine vorübergehende Wirklichkeit unter allen Umständen eine Einschaltung eines fremden Elementes ist, mag sie nun am Anfang, in der Mitte, oder am Ende stehen. Wenn nun aber auch der letzte Trumpf hinfällig ist, wenn der Knalleffekt, den Gerber sehr wirkungsvoll sich für das Ende seiner Ausführungen aufgehoben hat, so jämmerlich verputscht, so wird ja nun auch die Wirkung des gewaltigen Bannes, den er schliesslich von seinem Unfehlbarkeitsstuhle gegen meine Darstellung des dramatischen Aufbaues der Faustdichtung herabschleudert, seinem inneren Werte entsprechen.

Aber hat denn Gerber etwas Besseres an

die Stelle dessen zu setzen, was er so leidenschaftlich vernichten möchte? Er behauptet (1897, S. 78),

"the main purpose of Homunculus is to embody one of Goethe's long-cherished scientific ideas, the grand idea of evolution."

Ist das der Zweck des Homunculus, so hätte sich Goethe die Sache weit einfacher machen können: wozu der ganze Aufwand einer dramatischen Gestaltung, die innerhalb des Dramas gänzlich zwecklos ist, deren Zweck vielmehr ausserhalb des Dramas läge, und die gänzlich ins Nichts zerfällt, sobald der ausserhalb des Dramas liegende Zweck erfüllt ist? Wenn Goethe "the grand idea of evolution" verkörpern wollte, wozu gerade diese seltsame Gestaltung, wozu gerade in seinem "Faust"? Entweder diese Verkörperung hat innerhalb des Dramas einen Sinn,—dann ist dieser Sinn im Zusammenhang mit dem ganzen Drama zu suchen und nachzuweisen, und das versuche ich; oder sie hat innerhalb des Dramas keinen Sinn: sie soll nur eine lang gehegte und gepflegte wissenschaftliche Idee verkörpern—warum gerade so, gerade hier, ist gleichgiltig: sie taucht auf nach Willkür, sie taucht unter nach Willkür—das will Gerber feststellen. Ob es ihm gelingt, Glauben dafür zu finden? Einstweilen wird noch einiger Zweifel gestattet sein.

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#### ABROAD.

IN reading Icelandic sagas, one cannot fail to be struck by the strangely familiar and frequent expression *fara á brot, á braut*, etc. meaning 'to go abroad, away,' etc. The English dictionaries, however, Skeat's *Etym. Dict.*, *The Century*, *Murray's*, *The Standard*, *Webster's*, *Worcester's*, and the rest, without exception, given under *abroad* the simple, mechanical derivation from 'a' + 'broad.'

On further search I find that T.L.K. Oliphant once thought of *á brot* as the proper derivation; for in the 1878 edition of his *Old and Middle English*, p. 424, where he discusses the language of M.E. works Robert of Gloucester's *Lives of the Saints* (copied ca. 1250 by Northumbrian monks) and of the *Cursor Mundi*, in

both of which numerous Scandinavian words appear for the first time, he recognizes an *a brod* meaning *latē*, and an *a brod* meaning *foris* which, he says, comes from the Scandinavian; but in the ed. of 1891, p. 367, he withdraws the statement entirely, only remarking in its place that we have here to do with a strange, new kind of adverb, formed by compounding a preposition with an adjective, a thing unknown before.

The history of the occurrence of the word seems to me to prove rather conclusively that the second component was not an adjective but the Icelandic noun *brot*, *brott*, *braut*, from *brjóta* = 'to break through,' 'to make a road'; hence *a brott* = 'on a journey,' 'abroad,' precisely like our 'away.'

Following Murray's chronology, we find the first occurrence of the word about 1260; cf. *E. E. Poems* 6, '*Al þat þou wan here wiþ pine, a bro[d] þin eir sal wast it al.*' Other representative instances are, *Robt. of Gloucester* (ca. 1297) l. 542, '*That win orn a brod so;*' *Apol. for Lollards* (1400) l. 73, '*He þat gedrep not wiþ me, he sckateriþ a brod;*' *Langland, P. Pl.* (1377) B. ii, 176, '*abrōde iu visyfyngē*'; *Syr Generides* (1430), l. 4487, '*With his armes spred on brode;*' and *Starkey's England* (1538), 148, '*For I wot not whether I may speke this a-brode.*' That is to say, that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the regular form was '*a brod*;' in the fourteenth, instances of '*a brood*' come up; in the fifteenth, '*on brode*' makes its appearance; and in the fifteenth and sixteenth, '*a-brode*' gradually merges into the present form.

Here two important points are to be noted: 1. the form of the preposition, and 2. that of the so-called adjective at different times. Compare any of the other words of similar make-up like '*aside*,' '*absent*,' '*asleep*.' For instance, '*asleep*,' in the twelfth century, was '*an slep*;' in the thirteenth, '*on slæpe*;' from the thirteenth to the fifteenth, '*on slepe*;' then only came the forms '*asslepe*,' '*asleepe*,' and '*asleep*.' But '*abroad*' had the form '*a brod*' from the very beginning, and was not assimilated to the forms with '*on*' until late, when '*on*' was about to pass into the present '*a*'.

In the second place, the regular spelling of the adjective '*broad*' was '*brad*' throughout the period of '*a brod*,' with but few scattered

occurrences of '*brod*,' most of which are late; while '*on brade*' is mentioned but once, which is also late. There exist individual cases of confusion with other words, as with '*abrood*,' cf. *Owl and Nightingale* 518 (a. 1250), '*So sone so thu sittest abrode, thu for-lost al thine wise*'; and with '*aboard*,' cf. *Guylforde Pylgr.* 62 (1506), '*We laye amos tharde abrode the grete uggly rokkes*;' but these have no bearing on the question of the origin of the word.

#### A.S. *dennode*.

OF all the unexplained words in A.S. literature, this one is especially interesting on account of the large variety of conjectures which have been offered as to its meaning.

As far as is known, *dennode* occurs but once; namely, in line 12 of the *Battle of Brunanburh*. Of the seven MSS. of the *A. S. Chronicles* only four contain this poem, and these present the following variations of the word: Cott. Tib. A. VI. and B. I. *dennade*, Cott. Tib. B. IV. *dennode*, and the Cantab. (Parker) Text *dænnede*. To these is to be added *dynede*, Wheloc's reading of the destroyed MS. Otho B. XI. (a. 1633).

As to interpretation, Grein, Wülker, Bosworth-Toller, Bright, and Davis follow Ettmüller, who translated the word by *tubricum fieri* = 'to become slippery,' without attempting to give any sources or grounds for that idea; Ingram, Earle and Körner (who translates *klatschte, ertönte*, and in a note *Stud. des Ags.*, p. 223, *färbte sich dunkel*) adopt Gibson's rendering of *feld dennode* = *campi resonarunt* = 'the field resounded with din,' connecting *dennode* with *dynian*, 'to resound;' Thorpe and Freeman translate 'the field streamed,' connecting the word with O.N. *dundi* from *dynia*; Rieger proposes the reading *dænnede*, and translates *wurde gedüngt*; Hunt (quoted by Gibson, *Chron. Sax.*) suggests *sudarunt*; and Zupitza, Kluge, and Sweet leave the word untranslated in their vocabularies.

Zupitza, in a note, ventures to suggest *verstecken* = 'to hide,' from M.E. *dennien* = Mod. Eng. 'to den' = 'to give shelter.'

Ettmüller's rendering of the passage *feld dennode secga swate*, 'the field became slippery

with the blood of heroes', makes good sense, but does not seem to be supported by any philological evidence. The renderings 'resounded,' *klatschte* (suggesting the noise of wading in blood, or the splashing of blood on the ground), 'streamed,' *wurde gedüngt*, and *wurde versteckt*, besides having only very far-fetched derivations, are in the main either exaggerated or inappropriate in meaning.

A more suitable explanation is suggested by the Gothic *dauns* = *Dunst*, *Geruch*, 'steam,' 'smell.' From this we should regularly expect a weak verb *daunjan* or *daunōn*; neither of these is recorded in Gothic, but the Icel. derives a verb in the *-nan* class from *daunn*. Goth. *daunjan* would be in Anglo-Saxon (*déanian*) *dienan* (*dénan*, cf. Sievers, *AgS. Gram.* §§. 97, 99), *dýnan*, pret. *dien(e)de*, *dén(e)de*, *dýn(e)de*; Goth. *daunōn* would be A.S. *déanian* pret. *déanode*.

Now taking into consideration the striking appropriateness of such an expression in the context, it seems very probable that the passage under discussion originally read *feld dyn(e)de*, or *deanode*, *secza swate*, 'the field reeked with the blood of heroes.' Wheloc's reading supports the first of the two forms here proposed; the second more readily explains the variants *dennode*, *dennade*, since *ea* could easily be misread *en*.

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#### GERMAN LITERATURE.

*Immermann's Merlin*, by KURT JAHN. Palæstra, ed. Alois Brandl and Erich Schmidt. Part III. Berlin: Mayer and Müller, 1899.

KURT JAHN has undertaken to apply the method of psychological criticism to Karl Immermann's drama *Merlin*. He has brought out some facts of interest to the student of Immermann's works and personality, but in treating these facts as an all-sufficient cause for the creation of the drama *Merlin*, he reaches conclusions that can by no means stand as the self-evident truths as which they are proclaimed. The most that can be said in their favor is, that they contain at times an element of possibility, but hardly of probability, much less of certainty.

Psychological criticism, after all has been said in its favor, is at best suggestive as to deductions, but it can never itself draw conclusions as to absolute truths. For there are always elements of the creative faculty that escape the scalpel and microscope, and the bearing of these incommensurate factors upon a given work of art can never be wholly disregarded in forming a critical judgment of the work. Kurt Jahn, however, as it seems to us, does so disregard them in his treatment of *Merlin*, and this disregard has led him into error. There are striking instances of false deductions in his treatise. It will suffice to point out two of these.

1. Kurt Jahn reaches the startling conclusion (pp. 44, 66) that in the figure of Klingsohr, Immermann caricatured the *weltanschauung* and the character of Goethe.

The fact that Klingsohr is on the whole a creation of Immermann's own, evidently tempted Kurt Jahn to search for the psychological causes of this creation. Unhappily he finds in one of Immermann's letters to Tieck (Nov. 28, 1831) the following statement:

"Ich hätte Goethe sehr gern gesehen, mich dünkt, dass sein Wesen grade in diesem sonderbaren Augenblick eine eigenthümliche Anschauung gewähren musste. Auf der anderen Seite tröstet mich wieder die Betrachtung, dass ein persönliches Zusammentreffen mir wahrscheinlich denn doch die Figur meines Klingsohr verrückt haben würde."

This statement, Kurt Jahn thinks, must associate Goethe and Klingsohr, particularly as he finds in Immermann's letters a few other scattered remarks and innuendoes that are apparently directed against Goethe.

The following facts, however, bearing on Immermann's relation to Goethe, could not be disputed by Kurt Jahn. Up to the year 1830, approximately, Immermann had been a staunch admirer of Goethe, freely acknowledging his greatness, though not closing his eyes to his errors and faults. During his literary career he had been more or less under the paramount influence of the writer of *Faust* and *Wilhelm Meister*. He had unmercifully ridiculed the petty attacks upon the latter work. Furthermore, at Goethe's death, Immermann arranged and directed the impressive ceremony at the theatre at Düsseldorf, and

wrote his deep-felt lines on the passing away of the great master. How sincerely Immermann felt the loss of this life is further evident from a letter to his brother upon receipt of the news. He writes:

"A part of my own existence seems to be wanting; I feel a loss which causes me to look at everything as worthless or broken. The passing away of a young, striving, life may affect us greatly; but more tragic, more incisive is the loss of a striving life, great and important, that has been spun out to its last thread. Even the perfect, the complete, is after all but a fragment, it also must pass away—such is the feeling that lays hold of one at this time with curious force and power."

Somehow these facts must be made to support the view that Klingsohr is Goethe. In attempting to do so Kurt Jahn commits the mistake, so common to psychological criticisms, of treating facts from a preconceived point of view. His reasoning, if so it may be called, is deductive rather than inductive, and psychological analysis will always go astray when applied in this manner.

The substance of his reasoning is briefly this: Goethe's influence over Immermann had heretofore been so great and so insidious that, all unknown to him, it had controlled the best he had written. As he advanced in life and felt the need of reaching an independent view of life, he began to realize the extent of his dependence upon Goethe. This realization came to him shortly before he began to write *Merlin*. He was haunted by the fear of losing his personality in that of Goethe, thus at least Kurt Jahn asserts. This was one factor of his resentment against Goethe. A second factor was furnished in a certain growing envy of Goethe's fame due to Goethe's apparent indifference to Immermann's early works and to Goethe's dictatorship in literary Germany. Controlled by these feelings, Immermann gradually worked himself into a state of unreasoning hatred of Goethe. Thus the determination to free himself from the influence of Goethe, and envious hatred of the man and his position, became the two leading factors in Immermann's attitude towards Goethe, and they naturally controlled him when he wrote *Merlin*. For in order to assert his own self, and to satisfy his hate and envy, Immermann proceeded to construct an

arbitrary, even false picture of Goethe's *weltanschauung* and character in those of Klingsohr. Against these he then set up his own *weltanschauung* and ideal in the person of *Merlin*, and by making *Merlin* victorious over Klingsohr satisfied both his desire for independence and his hatred. To Kurt Jahn Immermann's requiem on the death of Goethe, and his high esteem of Goethe ever afterward, are perfectly compatible with such reasoning, nay they rather sustain it.

"For," says Kurt Jahn, "when *Merlin* was completed, Immermann was convinced that it was a masterwork. He had proved to his own satisfaction that he could be independent of Goethe and still write a great work. Therefore, he felt that he could be magnanimous, and having vented his spleen, he could thereafter reach a juster estimate of Goethe's worth and philosophy."

Without attempting to give here what would seem to be the most natural meaning of Immermann's above-quoted words to Tieck, it will suffice to call attention to a few facts that destroy the ready assumptions of Kurt Jahn in this argument.

FIRST: Goethe had not remained wholly indifferent or silent in respect to the works sent to him by Immermann, and Immermann could not therefore resent Goethe's neglect to respond to his early enthusiasm. In 1823 he was still a champion of Goethe, and in 1827—three years before the *Merlin* was actually undertaken—Goethe expressed himself approvingly to Holtei on some of Immermann's youthful writings, an opinion which Holtei had taken pains to convey to Immermann in a letter.

SECOND: Immermann's resentment on account of Goethe's dictatorship was not directed against Goethe, but against those who indulged in unreasonable hero-worship and saw no hope for German literature after the death of Goethe. There is not even a trace of anything like hatred in any statement of Immermann's.

THIRD: There is no evidence in all of Immermann's writings of such a perverted conception of Goethe's *weltanschauung* as Kurt Jahn is forced to assume in order to identify Klingsohr with Goethe.

FOURTH: Immermann was not so certain of the greatness of his work at the time of its

completion (see Immermann's statement as given by Kurt Jahn himself, pp. 110, 111, 113) as Jahn asserts, and consequently could not have allowed himself to form a more unbiased opinion of his assumed adversary because he thought he had established his independence. If the argument that Immermann created the character of Klingsohr and wrote the drama *Merlin* to establish his independence from Goethe were correct, then inasmuch as Immermann was not himself certain whether it was a piece of impressive poetry or a "monstrosity," it ought of necessity to follow that his resentment against Goethe, and Goethe's influence over him would be all the greater. But the fact is undeniable that hardly two months after *Merlin* was completed (January, 1831), Immermann showed not merely an enthusiastic admiration of Goethe, but what is still more unaccountable, a noble and just appreciation of his worth as a man and a poet. How could Immermann, if he really was so incapable of comprehending Goethe's *weltanschauung*, have gained a just estimate of this *weltanschauung* within a few months?

FIFTH: Immermann believed that the best and noblest in life emanated from the individual. This belief was most strong when *Merlin* was undertaken (see Immermann's statement to Beer). How then could Immermann cavil with Goethe for holding a similar belief?

SIXTH: Immermann's *Merlin*, as Kurt Jahn himself admits, was unconsciously influenced by Goethe, perhaps more so than any other work. Would this have been possible if Immermann had first become aware of the nature of Goethe's influence over him and then written *Merlin* to signify his breaking away from Goethe?

II. That *Merlin* was based upon the ultimate contradiction of all things in life as its tragic element, would be evident from the drama itself, even if the poet had not expressly so stated. But Kurt Jahn finds it necessary to determine how Immermann came to formulate such a view of life. The temptation to analyze this psychological process was too great for Kurt Jahn to resist. The result

of his analysis is briefly this: The misfortunes and contradictions of Immermann's own life brought about a mood in which he saw the facts and conditions of life distorted.

Therefore, his view of life as presented in the drama *Merlin* was not grounded in the nature of the poet, but, being wholly determined by his individual life-experiences, would change as soon as these changed.

That a poet's life-experiences will, to a certain extent, influence his views, that they will most frequently tend to crystallize or precipitate elements held in solution, no one would attempt to gainsay. But to claim for them the absolutely determining power that Kurt Jahn does, in the case of Immermann, is little short of foolhardy. Life experiences are in themselves largely determined by the nature of the man, and far more so if the man happens to be blessed or cursed, as the case may be, with the artistic temperament. This truth is so self-evident, that even Kurt Jahn unwittingly agrees to it. For after having devoted the second part of his thesis to an attempt to prove the above assertion, we find on page 59 the remarkable statement (remarkable because it flatly contradicts his previous conclusion): "the central idea of *Merlin* is grounded absolutely in the nature of the poet." When Kurt Jahn has learned the important truth: that a critic cannot take a single work of a poet's from out its setting of other works, much less a poet from the setting of his time and its silent influences, and treat it or him as an isolated phenomenon, then his deductions may become valuable contributions.

The *Palæstra* is devoted to the publication of articles which are the result of research work done under the guidance of Prof. Alois Brandl or Erich Schmidt, and which are recommended by them "*ihrer wissenschaftlichen Bedeutung wegen*." If it were not for this fact, the deductions of Kurt Jahn in the article criticised would hardly merit more than casual notice. Some of the material, however, presented in the article is new, and the analysis of the drama itself deserves commendation.

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## ANGLO-SAXON POETRY.

*Cynewulfs Wortschatz* oder vollständiges Wörterbuch zu den Schriften Cynewulfs von DR. RICHARD SIMONS. [Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. M. Trautmann. Heft III.] Bonn: P. Hanstein's Verlag. 1899.

SEVERAL treatises have been written in former years about the 'commonly recognized Cynewulfian poems,' the number of works allotted to the poet varying from case to case. In the title of the present publication there is no such qualifying clause, for the author believes with Trautmann that a definite enough final solution of the Cynewulf question has been reached. It would hardly be good taste to discuss here the canon of Cynewulf's works anew. But there will be no harm in observing that the last word does not yet seem to have been spoken. We have seen the views of Cynewulf scholars undergo considerable changes in the past. Can we be sure of the future? As regards the *Andreas*, it is claimed with great confidence for Cynewulf by investigators of high authority. But there is some sense also in what has been said on the other side. The all-important argument of style and tone, which has been applied to the poem, from new points of view, by Miss Bottenwieser (*Studien über die Verfasserschaft des Andreas*, Heidelberg, 1898) is disposed of far too lightly in Dr. Simons' introductory remarks. Also Brandl's effort to show the independent position of the *Fata Apostolorum* (*Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, C, 330 ff.) is deserving of more careful consideration, even though his particular interpretation be not accepted.

Dr. Simons' Glossary embraces only those poems which Trautmann considers the indisputable property of Cynewulf; namely, 1. *Elene*, 2. *Juliana*, 3. *Christ's Ascension*, that is, *Crist*, ll. 440-867 (misprinted 887 on p. 1), and 4. *Andreas*, together with the *Fata Apostolorum* and the runic passage following it—making a total of some forty-three hundred lines, or about one-seventh of the entire body of Old English poetry. With Grein's *Sprachschatz* and Zupitza's Glossary to *Elene* to build on, the task before the compiler was not one of first magnitude. But he has, indeed, exe-

cuted it with evident care and industry. Frequent tests have shown the general completeness and reliability of the work. Textual improvements which have been adopted are marked as such, the MS. readings being given along with them. Strange to say, Cosijn's corrections to *Crist* and *Juliana* in *Beiträge* xxiii (1898), seem to have been overlooked. In several debatable cases a mark of interrogation would have been in order; in others the author might have done well to vouchsafe a clue to a difficult passage, without any injury to his principle of conciseness. It was also a mistake, we think, to exclude the customary grammatical classification of verbs, for we do not imagine that the Glossary has been drawn up for the use of experienced scholars exclusively.

We offer a few incidental gleanings of corrections, following the alphabetical order. It cannot be intended, of course, to pass in review the numerous controversial points which might be raised regarding the textual interpretation of the poems glossed.

*adriogan* does not denote 'leiden' in *pe oft* (MS. of) *his lufan adræg*, *Andr.* 164, but 'agere, patrare, perficere.' See Grein; Cosijn, *Beiträge* xxi, 9.—We miss *æfyllend(e)*, *Crist* 704, meaning probably 'destroying the (divine) law' (*Beiträge* xxiii, 111), not 'legem exsequens' (Grein).—s. v. *anhdyg*, read *elnes* (for *eines*), *El.* 828.—s. v. *ar*, f. add *ara*, gen. plur., *Andr.* 298 (MS. *aras*; see Grein, *Germania* x, 423).—*benēah*. Read *beneah*.—Is *bēor* masculine?—s. v. *brēotan* read *brēotun* (for *breotun*), *Jul.* 16.—*ēad* (*mæg*) 'selig', *Jul.* 352 is extremely doubtful. Ettmüller's reading (approved by Sievers and Cosijn) *ēade mæg* offers the most natural solution.—*ēadlufe* 'liebe,' *Jul.* 104. Very plausible is Cosijn's rendering 'das liebe geld.' Cf. *eardlufu* 'die liebe heimat,' *Bēow.* 692, *hordwynn*, ib. 2270, etc. (*Aanteekeningen op den Bēowulf*, p. 13.)—*gælsa* 'übermut,' *Jul.* 366. Better, 'wantonness.' Cf. l. 369: *ic him geswēte synna lustas*, etc.—*geminian* 'beauben,' *Jul.* 621? Rather 'diminish,' (Gollancz:) 'humble.'—*gewyrd* 'eräugniss.' We are at a loss to understand what is gained by puristic spellings like this. Usage has decided for good in favor of 'Ereignis' and other historically "wrong" forms, and it is love's la-

bor lost to parade such defunct species in print. It is fortunate that Simons has not followed his master in the orthographic treatment of Hölle, Schöpfung, etc.—*hād*. The meaning 'clerus' in *purh lēohthe hād*, El. 1245 appears untenable. Grein's and Trautmann's 'durch den geistlichen Stand' and Stopford A. Brooke's 'through a light-imparting Form' are equally unsatisfactory. Zupitza's 'in herrlicher Weise' (so also Wülker, *Anglia* i, 504) seems to us the only justifiable rendering. It has been found fault with as 'nichtssagend,' but vagueness is the very characteristic of the entire personal epilogue. The same semi-adverbial function of *purh—hād* is seen clearly in *purh hēstne hād*, Bēow. 1335 (cf. *purh hēst*, Riddle 16, 28), *purh horscne hād*, *Crist* 49; probably also in *purh clænne hād*, *Crist* 444.—s.v. *mōd*. Grein's convincing emendation of *swā mōde*, El. 629 to *swā niode* should have been accepted (*Germania* x, 424; cf. Bright, *MOD. LANG. NOTES* ii, 82).—Under *sīn* 'sein' is given *sȳn*, *Andr.* 109, which should appear under *synn* 'sin.'—*sȳn* 'augenlicht' lacks the macron by misprint.—*pus*. In *Andr.* 1807 (= *Fat. Ap.* 85) the MS. has *pus*, not *pys*.—*wælcrest* 'totenrast, grabesruhe,' El. 723. Rather, 'death-bed.' The passage reads: *hwær sio hālig[e] rōd . . . lange legeres fæst lēodum dyrne / wunode wælcreste*. *Wælcreste* is accusative after *wunian*, as in Bēow. 2902: (*diadbedde fæst*), *wunad wælcreste*, and in other places; *rest* in the sense of 'resting-place' is, of course, very common.<sup>1</sup>—The *w*-rune in El. 1089 is recorded both under *weard*, m. and under *wynn*. Which is meant? We think Sievers' proof of the latter signification is final (*Anglia*, xiii, 3 ff.). The interpretation of the 'Cynewulf runes' lies outside the sphere of this review.—*wifgift*, f. 'mitgift,' *Jul.* 38. No; it is *wifgifta*, plur., 'marriage.' The analogous use of the simple noun *gifta* (*giftu*) is better known.

Dr. Simons' Glossary will be especially helpful to students who wish to read the 'Cyne-

wulfian' poems and are not fortunate enough to have old Grein at their service.

It may be noted that another Anglo-Saxon lexical study is contained in the fourth number of *Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik*: F. M. Paddelford's *Old English Musical Terms* (dedicated to Prof. Cook). This is a topical Glossary, with an introductory essay, somewhat like W. E. Mead's *Color in Old English Poetry* (*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, xiv, 169 ff.), Chs. H. Whitman's *The Birds of Old English Literature* (*The Journal of Germanic Philology*, ii, 149 ff.), and J. Hoops' *Altenglische Pflanzennamen* (Freiburg, 1889). Further collections of this kind should be encouraged.

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#### PEDAGOGY AND POETRY.

*Pädagogik und Poesie*. Vermischte Aufsätze von Prof. Dr. ALFRED BIESE, Königl. Gymnasial-Direktor in Neuwied a. Rhein. Berlin: 1900. R. Gaertners Verlagsbuchhandlung. vii, 320 pp.

THE author of this collection of essays is a prominent educator and one of the foremost writers on subjects dealing with culture-history. In his works on the evolution of the nature-sense, on the philosophy of the metaphor, etc., he has shown a fine range of acquaintance with the literatures of all great nations, and coupled with this erudition, great appreciation of beauty in whatever form it may appear. The same blending of learning and sensitiveness determines the nature of the volume under discussion.

The essays deal partly with pedagogic questions (namely, "Einförmigkeit und Einheitlichkeit im Schulbetriebe," "Zum psychologischen Momente im Unterricht"), partly with the treatment and interpretation in the school-room of certain literary monuments ("Zur Behandlung Lessings in Prima," "Zur Behandlung Goethes in Prima," etc.), and partly with problems of a purely literary or historical character ("Theodor Storm und Edward Mörike," "Die romantische Poesie des Gebirges," "Das Naturgefühl im Wandel der Zeiten, etc.).

<sup>1</sup> So *selerest*, Bēow. 690, *stetræst*, ib. 1241 'bed in the hall,' Trautmann's failure to realize this concrete meaning has driven him to a perfectly groundless emendation:—*raste* *gepeah*—'was taking rest' (*Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik* ii, 163). It is clear that the construction *selereste* *gebeah* is in a line with *sæbāt gesæt*, Bēow. 633, *eorðan gefōll*, ib. 2834, *meregrund gefōll*, ib. 2100; *hordeft gescēat*, ib. 2319.

The book is the expression of a personality filled with enthusiasm for healthy beauty and mellowness of culture. The author reveres good literature as a source of inspiration and joy, and is convinced that the study of it must not stop at collecting facts; yet he is free from any tendency to exaggeration and from even the slightest taint of phraseology. His point of view is best reflected in the essay entitled "Die Aufgaben der Litteraturgeschichte." Here the comparative study of literature is shown to be the only method which leads to a complete understanding of any one literature or any one great literary phenomenon.

It is rare to find a scholar of Prof. Biese's recognized soundness capable of such freshness of enthusiasm and directness of enjoyment. If ever he errs, it is in casting too much opprobrium on our own age, or rather in not mentioning with sufficient respect the spirit and the artistic efforts of our own times. Our century certainly is "nervous," tends to hysteria, lacks repose, yet it is maturer than any preceding one, and in spite of its "lack of imagination," has produced truly great artists: in music, Brahms and Wagner; in poetry, Browning and Tennyson; in painting, Corot and Millet. More than one teacher has discovered that respect and admiration for the present (sufficiently held in check by criticism) is the necessary basis for a virile and energetic culture. Ever since the days of humanism, classical scholars have tended to overlook this fact.

The book contains many fruitful ideas on literature and on the methods of literary interpretation, for the author has an exalted conception of the duties of a teacher of literature.

We hope the essays will find their way into the possession of many teachers, and particularly of college instructors in this country. There is with us now a wave in the direction indicated by Biese, and his book cannot help encouraging the best aims of high-minded pedagogues.

CAMILLO VON KLENZE.

University of Chicago.

#### THE GOUIN METHOD.

*Die Methode Gouin, oder das Serien-System in Theorie und Praxis*, auf Grund eines Lehrerbildungskurses, eigener sowie fremder Lehrversuche und Wahrnehmungen an öffentlichen Unterrichtsanstalten unter Berücksichtigung der bisher vorliegenden Gouin-Litteratur dargestellt von Dr. R. KRON, kaiserl. Oberlehrer. Zweite, ergänzte Auflage. Marburg, N. G. Elwert, 1900.

A STRIKING witness to the interest taken by up-to-date German pedagogues in all that pertains to modern language teaching is the appearance of a second edition of Dr. R. Kron's work on *Die Methode Gouin*. The first edition, which came out five years ago, was a reprint of several articles recently published in *Die neueren Sprachen*. The present volume, a book of nearly two hundred pages, brings the literature of the subject down to the current year, but is otherwise substantially unchanged. We have, first, a long discussion of the underlying principles of the system; then a few sample lessons printed in full, followed by a description of the actual workings of the method in the various countries where it has been tried; and, lastly, a biographical and bibliographical appendix. Dr. Kron's attitude toward the *Serien-System* is that of an enthusiastic but intelligent admirer. It is worthy of note that he prefers the original Gouin to the "improved" version of Bétis and Swan.

The important question, "unter welchen Bedingungen kann die Methode Gouin in öffentlichen deutsche Schulen Eingang finden," is dismissed in a few lines, beginning rather discouragingly with the words: "Hierzu bedarf es in erster Linie einer Abänderung der Lehrpläne und Prüfungsvorschriften." A still greater change in the course of study would be necessary to give the "series" a fair trial in this country. Indeed, the most promising field for the system is, I think, to be found in the public schools of Japan, where, I am informed, English is pursued as a prescribed study about six hours a week for eight years, and the educational authorities are now in search of a method. If Gouin's idea should

find acceptance with our wide-awake trans-Pacific neighbors, we might look for a conclusive test of its practicability.

C. H. GRANDGENT.

Harvard University.

#### GERMAN LITERATURE.

*Hermann Sudermann's Frau Sorge.* With Introduction and Notes by GUSTAV GRUENNER, Professor in Yale University. Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1900. xvii+268 pp.

THE growing interest in contemporary German literature makes an edition of Sudermann's *Frau Sorge* a welcome addition to our stock of German text-books. *Frau Sorge* is not only Sudermann's best novel, but one of the very best and purest specimens of German fiction that have appeared during the last fifteen years. The editor's work has been very careful. The introduction gives a brief account of Sudermann's life and works. It does not discuss the literary conditions of Germany previous to the "modern" movement. The editor speaks of this movement as

"those years of ferment and revolution in literature which the Germans, with their passion for literary analogies and their excessive self-consciousness and consequent exaggeration, like to call the 'Modern Storm and Stress'" (p. viii).

Such a statement without a discussion of the ideas contained in the phrase "Modern Storm and Stress" seems to me misleading and unjust. The new literary movement in Germany presents undeniable and striking parallels to the Storm and Stress of the eighteenth century, but there are very few Germans, outside of a few enthusiasts, who would attribute to this movement the same profound and permanent influence as was exercised by the Storm and Stress of the eighteenth century. Litzmann's discussion of this movement (*Das deutsche Drama, Neunte Vorlesung*) and Ad. Stern's note of warning (*Jahresbericht f. d. neuere Litteratur*, 1896, iv, 1<sup>a</sup>, 7-12), to mention only two Germans, are certainly far

removed from any "excessive self-consciousness and consequent exaggeration."

In the text the editor omits the episode in which Paul compels the two Erdmann brothers to marry the twins. This is a case of legitimate cutting down. Neither the plot nor the development of the principal characters are seriously affected by the omission. The advantage for the class-room, on the other hand, is obvious.

The editor's purpose is "to facilitate rapid, though idiomatic, translation." His notes are therefore brief; at times, perhaps, too brief, but accurate and to the point. The translations given do justice to the original and are, at the same time, idiomatic. English colloquialisms are sometimes cited to bring out the meaning of an expression more effectively. The particles, that *crux* of all students of German, receive special attention. The editor sometimes explains a rare word by some well-known synonym, a very good practice in teaching German; but as there are few words altogether synonymous, this has to be done with great care. P. 2, l. 15, *dreinschaute* = *aussah* is not strictly correct. While it may do for that particular passage it does not apply to the other passages cited: p. 70, l. 9; p. 117, l. 1. *Dreinschauen* is used there of inanimate objects, it represents them almost as personified. To substitute *aussehen* would deprive the two passages of all poetic charm. P. 45, l. 22, *verängstigt* does not stand for *geängstigt*, cf. p. 100, l. 2. There are a few other points that have escaped the editor: p. 1, l. 18, *Hangen und Bangen* is not strictly speaking an alliterative phrase. P. 100, l. 6, *Maunufacturisten* is singular; it denotes a dealer in *Manufakturwaren*, that is, textile goods, especially cloth; the connection, too, points to a dealer in cloth. P. 211, l. 18, *Königsberg* is the capital of the province of East-Prussia. The province of Prussia ceased to exist in 1878, when it was divided into the two provinces of East-Prussia and West-Prussia. The book is well gotten up and contains a good portrait of Sudermann.

JOHN A. WALZ.

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## TWO BOOKS ON ENGLISH LITERATURE.

*History of English Literature*, by REUBEN POST HALLECK. New York: American Book Co., 1900. Sm. 8vo, pp. 499. \$1.25.

*Outline History of English and American Literature*, by CHARLES F. JOHNSON. New York: American Book Co., 1900. Sm. 8vo, pp. 552. \$1.25.

Two teachers of English literature have here given us the benefit of their experience in the form of usable manuals for high school and elementary college classes. The two differ somewhat in method. Mr. Johnson tends to emphasize the study of individual authors (for example, he says nothing about Romanticism), while Mr. Halleck gives more attention to the study of movements and tendencies. The latter method of study has certain undeniable advantages, one of which is that it leads the student to study literature alongside of history. It is well that in recent years the importance of studying history and literature side by side has been recognized and emphasized; we are glad to see that both our authors have furnished references to the leading books on English history.

While both these manuals show improvement on earlier text-books, we can hardly pronounce either of them perfect. Both are comparatively weak in the early periods of our literature; it is perhaps too much to expect that the specialist in modern English literature shall be equally at home in our early literature. To the Anglo-Saxon period Mr. Johnson gives fourteen pages, Mr. Halleck thirty-five. Professor Johnson's sketch is readable but inadequate. We can hardly agree with Halleck that the language of the Teutonic invading tribes is now *generally* "called Anglo-Saxon or Saxon" (p. 12); and certainly Anglo-Saxon is not the sister language of modern German (p. 15): it is rather an elderly aunt. To derive *scōp* from *scippan* (p. 19) is to distort the truth; and *nipende* does not mean "noisome" (p. 17). His attempt to expound the early Teutonic religion in two somewhat obscure paragraphs is not successful; and in general the early chapters should in a future edition be thoroughly revised.

Professor Johnson has had a greater struggle

with the problem of compression, and if we consider the difficulties to be met, he has succeeded well. Yet when we note the apparent absence from his pages of a large number of minor names (for example, Lydgate, Gascoigne, Ascham, Wycherley, Otway, Bp. Butler, Maria Edgeworth, Ann Radcliffe, Gilbert White, Peacock, Adam Smith, Robertson, Thomas Beddoes, Bp. Berkeley, John Wilson, Lockhart, Symonds, Edwin Arnold, Stephen, Faraday, Milman, Green, Jean Ingelow), we can only regret that he devotes, for example, a whole page to the date of Chaucer's birth, that he gives in general so many minor biographical details, and that he prints so many illustrative extracts which are now accessible in inexpensive editions; indeed it would have been better to leave out most of the extracts, giving instead brief bibliographical notes on series like "The Riverside Literature Series" and "Cassell's National Library." Arriving at the Victorian Era Professor Johnson could give only fifty-nine pages to it, while Halleck has given it ninety-five. Yet Johnson's discussions have a certain freshness; and for schools with small libraries, which can give only a short time to the subject, the book may be commended.

Professor Halleck has, perhaps wisely, left the treatment of American literature "to works dealing especially with that branch;" his book, therefore, naturally reveals fewer omissions, and a number of minor authors not discussed in the text are mentioned in a supplementary list, with their chief works. He apparently does not mention Walter Map, however, and he says too little about the metrical romances which solaced our ancestors. Like Johnson's his discussion of the origins of the drama is inadequate; yet he gives a valuable hint in mentioning the Christmas and Easter services (p. 134), and in general his treatment is better than Johnson's. The same is true of his Shakespeare pages and of his characterization of the Victorian Age, on which, as for quantity, he has fourteen pages to Johnson's four; but neither author says enough about our later writers. It is now practically certain that Sir Philip Francis did *not* write the *Letters of Junius*; and the lists of "works for consultation and further study" contain too

many poor books. Yet in spite of these blemishes Mr. Halleck has made a convenient and meritorious text-book. Well chosen illustrations and a good index help to make the book attractive and valuable both for school use and for reference.

CLARK SUTHERLAND NORTHUP.

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### SHAKESPEARE.

*Richard the Third up to Shakespeare*, by GEORGE B. CHURCHILL, Ph. D., *Palæstra*, Herausgegeben von Alois Brandl und Erich Schmidt, No. x. Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1900. 8vo, pp. 548.

THIS is a formidable thesis worked out in copious detail by one of Professor Brandl's students. The idea is a fruitful one. It is to trace the growth of the "Richard saga" from its beginnings until the material of it came into Shakespeare's hands, separating at all points the historical from the purely legendary, and exploring the source of each item of legend as it enters the saga. The work has been done solidly and well, and is an important contribution to Shakesperian scholarship. The materials have been carefully digested, and are displayed with almost more than German thoroughness.

Five hundred full pages is almost too much for even a dissertation in the Shaksperian field. Most of the excessively long analyses of chronicles, poems, and plays might have been retrenched without great loss to the reader, and more frequent reference made to the originals. Still, as it is, here you have all of the necessary material and a reference-book and source-book for *Richard the Third*, all in one volume. The all too numerous misprints, not half of which are corrected in the long list of "Corrigenda" at the end of the volume, and for which the author excuses himself on the ground of distance from the press, are discreditable to *Palæstra*. If theses and other books in English are to be printed in Germany, they should be held to a stricter standard of typographical accuracy than has been displayed of late years.

The first half of the volume deals with "Richard in the Chronicles," the second with "Richard in Poetry and the Drama." Of the chronicles the so-called "Second Continuation of the History of Croyland Monastery" receives careful consideration as the best of the original historical authorities. Here we have tolerably firm footing. Richard, of course, is the slayer of the princes of the Queen's kin, and of Hastings, but with the other crimes in Shakespeare's list he is not charged. In the chronicles of Rous, de Comines, and Bernard André, the blackening process has begun. With Sir Thomas More and Polydore Vergil, however, we first meet the chief sources of the purely legendary elements of the Richard saga. From them Shakespeare's immediate sources, Holinshed and Hall, draw their main supplies. The author has manifested great critical patience and skill in disentangling from the mass of the sources the essential contributions of each to the legend.

In the anonymous *History of the Arrival of Edward IV*, (Camden Society, 1838) the only purely Yorkist account of the period, Richard (Gloucester) is uncharged with any crime. Warkworth's *Chronicle* (Camden Society, 1839) is the first of the Lancastrian series. Here the idea of Fate and Retribution is first emphasized. Richard here figures only subordinatesly.

In the *Second Continuation of the History of Croyland Monastery*, we have the first full history of Richard's reign. Here are related the execution of the Queen's kin by Richard after the death of Edward IV, the fate of Hastings, the intrigues of Richard and Buckingham, the imprisonment of the young king in the Tower, the forced appeal of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the queen in the sanctuary at Westminster to give up the young Duke of York, and her compliance, the seizing of the throne by Richard on the pretext that the princes were bastards, the death of the princes in the Tower, the first arrival of Richmond, the death of Queen Anne (no suggestion that Richard poisoned her), Richard's plans to marry his niece and their frustration, the second landing of Richmond at Milford in Wales while Richard, trusting to prophecy, was expecting him to land at Milford, near

Southampton, the battle of Bosworth, Richard's terrifying dreams, and the death of Richard bravely fighting. Rous (*Historia Regum Angliæ*), who follows, is the first to describe Richard's person and deformities. The treatment throughout is hostile, while Henry VII (Richmond) is extravagantly flattered. Next in turn de Comines adds several items to the legend. It is he who reports current rumors that Richard was the murderer of Henry VI, of Queen Anne, and the princes. Here too is first mentioned that Clarence's death was by drowning in a butt of malmsey.

Bernard André's *History of Henry VII* is a thoroughly partisan work. Here Richard is painted as a monster of cruelty, as in a later legend. Still he is not yet charged with the deaths of Clarence or of Queen Anne, and the fact that Richard had been named Protector by Edward, and did not usurp the function here first appears. Here too, fully depicted, is Shakespeare's heroic Richmond. In Fabyan's *Chronicle* appear, for the first time, Buckingham's betrayal by Banister, and other slight items in the history. The relation of More's *History of Richard III* to the Shakesperian story has already been studied elsewhere in detail. Most significant in it perhaps is its analysis of Richard's character. More, too, makes his additions to the legend. The account of the council meeting where Hastings is arrested is his. The death of Henry VII is imputed to Richard's own initiative, without the suggestion of Edward. Richard's intention of seizing the crown from the moment of Edward's death is insisted upon. Thus his policy acquires unity.

"The winning of the young Duke of York away from his mother's protection, the subtle messages by which Buckingham is induced to follow Richard in all his plans, the double councils, the dramatic plot which brings Hastings to his death, the statement to the citizens of Hastings treason, with the device of the rusty armour, the previously prepared proclamation of a subsequently discovered crime, the sermon of Shaw and the intended *coup* of Richard's opportune appearance, Buckingham's speech at Guildhall, the scene at Baynard's castle, where the crown is pressed upon the reluctant Richard, the reconciliation with Fogge"—

all these incidents are here reduced to a whole

and made ready to Shakespeare's hand. But above all it is More who makes prominent the struggle of Richard's conscience, the nemesis which overtook him in the inward tortures of his own soul. This, of course, in its literary treatment, is the dramatic kernel of the whole story. Dramatically, too, More makes much use of prophecies and omens attending the various tragic events of the story.

Polydore Vergil was the chief authority for that part of the legend which More's *History* did not cover. "The saga of Richard as it came to Shakespeare, so far as it is not More's is almost wholly Vergil's." Vergil adds to the story in several minor particulars, but his chief contribution is his insistence upon the motive of divine vengeance: the idea that the disasters of the time were meted out as punishment for the sins of the fathers. Hall's *Chronicle* brings more into view Richard's early career and his personal prowess and bravery, yet Richard is blackened by many additional touches. Hall, more than the rest, heightens the pathos of the fate of the murdered princes in the Tower. He has several minor additions adopted by Shakespeare, but substantially he follows without change his sources, More, Vergil, de Comines, and Fabyan. Holinshed follows Hall, Stow, Fabyan, More, and others, and introduces little that is new.

"Thus though Shakespeare may in writing *Richard III* have based his play almost wholly on the form of the saga which he found in Holinshed, yet in the formation of the saga Holinshed is of very slight importance."

In regard to the importance of Vergil's *History* the author establishes a new point and maintains that Grafton's continuation of Hardyng, which has heretofore been credited as an original authority for many particulars, is nothing more than a free translation of Vergil (p. 163).

In the second part of the volume various literary treatments of the story of Richard III are considered. The most important of these are the several poems dealing with the period in the *Mirror for Magistrates*, Legge's Latin play of *Richardus Tertius* and the *True Tragedy of Richard the Third*. In the *Mirror for Magistrates* the author finds further confirmation (in addition to that found in

More) for Shakespeare's representation of Clarence's death at Richard's hands, a point generally overlooked by Shakespeare editors (p. 242-245).

The study of Legge's *Richardus Tertius* is full and valuable. Professor Churchill makes large claims for this play. "To Legge," he asserts, "was due the turning of the drama in England in an entirely new direction." For this play was the first full-fledged historical drama dealing with English history. Bale's *Kyng Johan* was essentially a morality play, and of course no chronicle play in the true sense. Legge's play was very popular, and Marlowe, Peele, Greene, Nash, and others of the University set doubtless knew it. Hence its influence upon their work is to be inferred. But as *Richardus Tertius* is, except in certain formal respects, as the author shows, almost entirely a tragedy on the Senecan model, and as the hint at least for the dramatic use of English history might be taken from Bale, it will not do to make too much of this point. Legge follows the chronicles very closely for his facts, but in other respects, as the author has shown with such painstaking scholarship, the greater part of his work is almost a cento from Seneca. In the use of action and in its disregard of the unities, however, the play is not Senecan. Legge's conception of Richard's character too, is purely Senecan, and dramatically far inferior to Shakespeare's or to that of the author of the *True Tragedy*. Direct influence upon Shakespeare there was none.

Lacey's *Richardus Tertius*, usually referred to as an "imitation" of Legge's play, is, Professor Churchill has discovered, merely a transcript of the latter.

The *True Tragedy of Richard the Third* similarly is analyzed *in extenso*. Its position as the unique representative of a mixed type, the English chronicle-history and the tragedy of revenge, is significant. Here first is to be found a history play presenting a central and dominating figure.

Crude as its workmanship is, it has the prime dramatic virtue of centering the chief interest on the inner nature of the hero, not on the mere story of his acts and fate. Herein the author attempts to trace the manifest influence of Marlowe, especially the Marlowe of

*Faustus* and of *Tamburlaine*. Incidentally the author corrects a couple of Mr. Fleay's errors (pp. 439 ff., 444). Professor Churchill accepts the general view that this play depends upon and follows *3 Henry VI*, adducing new evidence in proof. In regard to its relations to Shakespeare's *Richard III*, he comes to the support of Boswell, Skottowe, Field, Lloyd and the others who have upheld the theory that Shakespeare knew and made some use of the *True Tragedy*,—unless, with Lowell, Halliwell, and Fleay, it can be maintained that they both go back to an earlier play, now lost. In the first place the fundamental conception of the character and punishment of Richard in both has much in common.

Again, the speech of Rivers to the young king in both, otherwise unexplained, shows probable dependence. The gist of the proof is missed in Professor Churchill's citation, through the omission (p. 504) of the essential part of the quotation from the *True Tragedy*, unless I err in my interpretation of the two passages. The comparison (p. 511) of the latter part of *Richard III*, IV, iv, with the corresponding passage in the *True Tragedy*, likewise is fruitful. It is possible, moreover, that the appearance of ghosts to Richard, instead of the devils of the source, was due to the earlier play. So the gloomy aspect of the day of Bosworth fight, contrary to the bright skies of the chronicle account, may be due to the same source. Then there are the verbal resemblances, especially the famous line in the *True Tragedy*: "A horse, a horse, a fresh horse." Altogether the author considers some thirty items of possible proof, some of them sufficiently tenuous; but the main contention seems to be fairly substantiated, and Shakespeare's use of the *True Tragedy* seems highly probable.

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#### CORRESPONDENCE.

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CHRIST 485-6.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—In the Biblical originals for *Christ* 475-490 there is no mention of idols, and I

have therefore supposed 485b-486a to be an independent insertion by Cynewulf. I am now inclined to think, however, that it comes from Gregory's letter to Æthelbert (Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* i. 32; Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 77. 1201). The words are: "Christianam fidem in populis tibi subditis extendere festina, zelum rectitudinis tuæ in eorum conversione multiplica, *idolorum cultus insequere, fanorum ædificia evertē,*" etc. This was in the letter sent by Mellitus; later, in writing to Mellitus, he advises greater leniency (Bede i. 30; Migne 77. 1215): "Dicite ei [i. e. Augustine] . . . quia fana idolorum destrui in eadem gente minime debeant, sed ipsa quæ in eis sunt idola destruantur. Aqua benedicta fiat, in eisdem fanis aspergatur, altaria construantur, reliquiæ ponantur, quia si fana eadem bene constructa sunt, necesse est ut a cultu dæmonum in obsequium veri Dei debeant commutari," etc. Plummer has a long and interesting note on Bede i. 30, in which he says: "We constantly hear of idols and idolatry in all the Saxon kingdoms—Kent, i. 30, 32; ii. 6; Essex, ii. 5; iii. 22, 30; Northumbria, ii. 10, 11, 13; iii. 1; East Anglia, ii. 15; Mercia, ii. 20; Sussex, iv. 13; v. 19; of the Saxons generally, ii. 1." Cf. the note in Migne on *Epist.* ii. 66, 76 (*Patr. Lat.* 77. 1203. c; 1215. b). We can only conclude that Cynewulf, for some good reason, was more in sympathy with the radical policy.

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#### WYCHERLEY AND JEREMY COLLIER.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—In M. Beljame's admirable work, *Le Public et les Hommes de Lettres* (page 252), in discussing the replies to Collier's famous *Short View*, he says, "Congreve, Vanbrugh, D'Urfey, directement pris à partie, se hâtèrent de répondre: Congreve et Vanbrugh, dans des

publications spéciales; D'Urfey, dans une préface 'familière,' mise en tête de sa comédie des *Campaigners* et dans le prologue de la même pièce. Wycherley répondit sans doute aussi." In a footnote he gives as his authorities for Wycherley's reply, Allibone and Macaulay, and adds, "Ni Macaulay ni Allibone ne donnent d'indications qui m'aient permis de retrouver la réponse de Wycherley." On looking up these two references, I find that Allibone says, under the heading Collier, "Wycherley was suspected of being one of his assailants." Macaulay in his essay, *Comic Dramatists of the Restoration*, says, "Congreve was not Collier's only opponent. Vanbrugh, Dennis, and Settle took the field. And, from the passage in a contemporary satire, we are inclined to think that among the answers to the 'Short View,' was one written, or supposed to be written, by Wycherley." Mr. Edmund Gosse, as is his wont, goes much farther. In a discussion of the Collier controversy, in his *Life Of Congreve*, a discussion containing errors of fact on vital points, he alludes to an anonymous tract called *A Vindication of the Stage*, and says, "I have little hesitation, however, in attributing it to Wycherley," and proceeds to give evidence that is the merest guess-work (pp. 113, 114). Prof. Ward, in his *Hist. Eng. Dram. Lit.*, iii, 312, merely gives Mr. Gosse's opinion.

All the above writers seem to have overlooked an important passage in one little tract which indicates pretty strongly that Wycherley did not reply to Collier at all. To the second edition of Collier's *Dissuasive from the Play-House*, which appeared in 1704, one year after the first edition, there was added "A Letter written by another Hand; in Answer to some Queries sent by a Person of Quality, Relating to the Irregularities charged upon the *Stage*." In this interesting document occurs the following passage: "I come now to your next Question: When Mr. C. made so vigorous an Attack upon our *Stages*, as shook the Foundation; what was the Reason, in so desperate a Juncture (when the whole Posse of *Parnassus* was expected up in Arms) that only the *Minor Poets* appear'd? Where was the mighty W—? \* \* \* \* But, during these skirmishes, where was, say

you, the mighty W—, a wit, certainly, of the first magnitude; and with so great a Fund of Sense, that, besides his Contributions to the *Stage's* Diversion, he could not want a Stock for its Defence; even when the common Bank of Wit fail'd.

To this I must tell you, He was never a Retainer to the *Theatres*, but a Person of too much Judgment to engage in the Quarrel. Besides he had fore-cluded himself, and already decided the Case, in his Dedication to Madam B. (Bawd by Profession whatever was her Name) *I think*, says he, *a Poet should be as free of your Houses as of the Play-Houses, since he contributes to the Support of both, and is as necessary to you as the Ballad-Singer to the Pick-Purse, in convening the Cullies at the Theatre, to be pick'd up, and carried to a Supper, and Bed at your Houses.*

*Ridentem dicere Verum*, &c. Nothing like a true Jest. Brothels and Play-Houses, Poets and Pandars, are in the same Predicament with this Author, and he is too much a *Plain-Dealer* to retract his Evidence." He then goes on to speak of Dryden's attitude.

To my mind, the above quotation is fairly satisfactory evidence that Wycherley made no reply to Collier.

WM. LYON PHELPS.

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#### LYCIDAS 40 ff.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—In these lines Milton would seem to have been more indebted to Virgil's *Eclogues* than has been commonly supposed. Warton refers 'gadding vine' to Cicero, *De Senectute* 15. 52: 'quam [sc. vitem] serpentem multiplici lapsu et erratico ferro amputans coercet ars agricolarum, ne silvescat sarmentis et in omnis partis nimia fundatur'; but it is more likely to be a reminiscence of the 'errantis hederas' of *Ecl.* 4. 19 (note that ivy is associated with a cave in Theoc. *Idyll.* 3. 17; the cultivated grape-vine of Homer, *Od.* 5. 69 is not 'gadding', though Butcher and Lang employ this epithet). The 'wild thyme' of Shakespeare, *M. N. D.*

2. 1. 249, was very likely in Milton's mind; but he may also have thought of the sweet thyme which grows upon Hybla (*Ecl.* 7. 37), associated as it is with 'white ivy' in the next line. 'And all their echoes mourn' is probably, as Jerram has pointed out, from Moschus, *Epit. Bion.* 30. There are willows, associated with the vine in Virgil, *Ecl.* 10. 40; and there are hazels in *Ecl.* 5. 3.

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#### TOM TYLER AND HIS WIFE.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—A word regarding the probable date of *Tom Tyler* may be added to Professor Schelling's discussion of the matter in the last number of the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*. The Stationer's Register records the entry of a ballad, 'tom Tyler', among others licensed to Colwell the printer, in the year 1562-3.

Collier, in 1848,<sup>1</sup> adds to his statement of 1831 that 'the drama itself may have been here first entered for publication.' The supposition is hardly warranted by the character of the *Register*, which distinguishes, certainly in most cases, between a 'boke,' a 'ballatte,' a 'ditty,' etc. Still, the entry is worth noting.

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#### LEXICAL AND GLOSSOLOGICAL NOTES.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—Permit me to correct some misprints I have noticed in my article in the November number:

Col. 413, l. 4 read *beshydden*; l. 6 read *hoedloc* and *hoedyl*; l. 17 read *fermentum* *surdought*.

<sup>1</sup> Shakespeare Society's Publications, p. 74.

Col. 414, l. 5 put a , after *filled*; l. 11 read *maes*; l. 14 read *countrelyke*; l. 21 expunge the ; after *marchoc*; l. 33 put a , after *bwch*; l. 35 read *cæcepol*.

Col. 415, l. 3 put a , after *dourltoure*; l. 13 put a ; after 'thrust.'

Col. 416, l. 7 read *baia[e]*; l. 9 read *haec*.

Col. 417, l. 11 read *wæren*; l. 12 read *quaelibet*.

Col. 418, l. 5 read *mürrisch*; l. 14 read *Curæ*; l. 26 read *clænel*; l. 36 read 'caesa'; l. 48 read *fluuii*; l. 49 read *Ruræ*.

Col. 419, l. 1 read *Houæ plenæ*; l. 20 read *Columbae*; l. 26 read *iuncturae*.

Col. 420, l. 3 read *baruina*; l. 39 read *heafodpanne*.

Col. 421, l. 4 read *mycteras*; l. 8 read *cassan*; l. 16 put a ; after *lenden*; l. 27 read *toliam*; l. 28 read *thoracem*.

Col. 422, l. 11 strike out *many*; l. 12 insert *or Bosworth-Toller's (?) after Hall's*.

OTTO B. SCHLUTTER.

Hartford, Conn.

#### DANTE'S FIGURE OF THE SEAL AND THE WAX.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—Dante is very fond of the figure of the seal and the wax, especially in the *Purgatorio* and the *Paradiso*. It is found in *Purg.* 10. 45; 18. 38-39; 33. 79, *Par.* 1. 41-42; 8. 127-128; 13. 73-75; *Conv.* 1. 8. 91-92; *Mon.* 2. 2. 73 ff. (the line-references in the prose works are to Moore's edition of the *Opere*). Less explicitly it occurs in *Inf.* 11. 49-50; *Purg.* 25. 95; *Par.* 2. 132; 7. 69. 24. 143; *Conv.* 2. 10. 37-38. The commentators as a rule throw no light upon it. Scartazzini (on *Purg.* 33. 79) quotes a reference to St. Jerome's preface to the Bible. Vernon, *Readings on the Inferno* (11. 49), refers to Rev. 14. 9-10. Moore, *Studies in Dante*, affords no help. Butler (on *Purg.* 33. 79) suggests the truth, but does not support

his assertion: "Dante is fond of the metaphor, borrowed from Aristotle, of the seal and the wax."

The Aristotelian passages, as students of Dante may be glad to know, are both found in the *De Anima*. The first is *De Anima* 2. 1 (412<sup>b</sup>. 7). I quote from Wallace's translation: "We must no more ask whether the soul and the body are one than ask whether the wax and the figure impressed upon it are one, or generally inquire whether the material and that of which it is the material are one." The other is *De Anima* 2. 12 (424<sup>a</sup>. 19): "The general character of sense in all its forms is to be found in seeing that sense-perception is that which is reception of the forms of things sensible without their matter, just in the same way as wax receives the impress of the seal without the iron or the gold of which it is composed, and takes the figure of the gold or bronze, but at the same time not as bronze or gold."

ALBERT S. COOK.

Yale University.

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*An Elementary English Composition*, by Professors FRED NEWTON SCOTT, of the University of Michigan, and JOSEPH VILLIERS DENNEY, of the Ohio State University (Allen and Bacon, Boston), is somewhat unique in plan, a three-fold purpose being evident throughout the work: to present familiar ideas in such novel form as to pique curiosity, to stimulate thought, and to develop individuality; to keep in view the social aspects of school composition work, by regarding the school as the public to which the compositions may be supposed to be addressed; and to show the intimate connection of oral with written composition. As an aid to the stimulation of definite thought, several suggestive pictures are given. The authors have been remarkably successful in carrying out their plan, and have given their book the force of a strong and vital personality. They have put into it just what every progressive teacher would like to give to a class, but which few are able to give.



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## ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Messrs. D. C. HEATH & CO., Boston, have just issued Mairé's *La Tâche du Petit Pierre*, by O. B. Super, and will soon publish *Cinq Scènes de la Comédie Humaine par Balzac*, by B. W. Wells, and Schiller's *Das Lied von Glocke*, by W. A. Chamberlin.

The MACMILLAN COMPANY, New York, have just issued Cervantes' *History of the Valorous and Witty Knight Don Quijote*, translated by Thomas Shelton; also a second edition of Mabie's *Shakespeare, Poet, Dramatist and Man*.

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**A Work of High Scholarship.**—*Romania*, PARIS, April, 1900 [Translation]:

The author has a wide knowledge of the literature of his subject. The list of sources is ample, and it is evident that these sources have been used with care. The translations in verse or prose which are inserted in the text prove a real knowledge of the Provençal language.

**Scholarly, Artistic, Literary, and Really Needed.**—*Annales du Midi*, PARIS, April, 1900 [Translation]:

The author is familiar with the most recent progress of romance philology . . . . The public will highly appreciate the artistic and literary side of this work, which fills a real gap, not only for the Anglo-Saxon world but even for us.

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All that remains of them [the troubadours] is brought before us in a concrete, vitalized form . . . . We have, then, before us a reliable account of Provençal lyric poetry, expressed in easy and familiar language, and made real by a successful attempt to restore the civilization which produced it . . . . There is hardly a criticism to be passed upon Professor Smith's facts.

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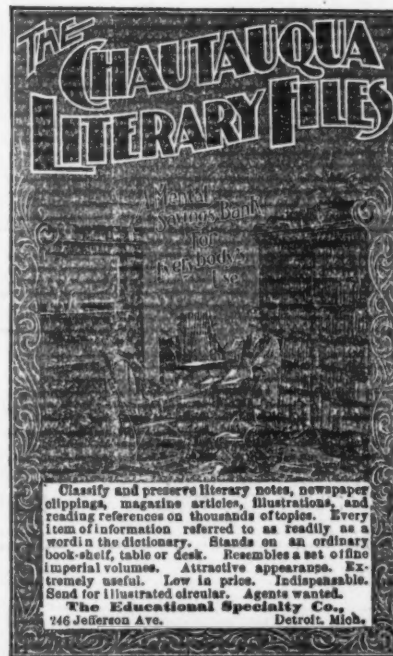
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